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### WHERE ARE THE REMAINS OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS?

**F**RONTING the plaza in the ancient city of Isabel la Nueva, now known as Santo Domingo, stands the venerable and weather-beaten cathedral. A solid building of cut stone, not in the light and graceful Gothic, but in the less aspiring Roman style, it has since its completion in 1540 defied alike the earthquake and the hurricane, the gnawing tooth of time, and the artillery of man.

As you enter beneath the bold vaulted roof memories come thronging fast. Here was the first voice raised in the Western World in the cause of human freedom; here the great Dominican Montesinos made the first denunciation of human slavery, and began the work so bravely carried on by Las Casas. Thus we may feel proud of Montesinos, for he reared the first Christian altar in our land, on the banks of the James, fourscore years before the English began a settlement in honor of the son of Mary Stuart.

But the old cathedral has other memories. Within its walls, as is generally conceded, lay for centuries the mortal remains of Christopher Columbus, the Discoverer of the New World.

Santo Domingo, jealous of her great trust, claims to hold them still; but the capital city of the neighboring island, Havana, no less strenuously asserts that since 1795 she has possessed them, and has in storied bust and monumental marble set forth the claim.

All will admit that the remains of the wronged and illustrious Discoverer of the New World ought to be in a noble and honored tomb. He asked no elaborate pile, no masterpiece of sculpture, and none was raised.

His tomb has been as obscure as his death. His remains were removed unheralded and unnoticed from Valladolid to Seville, from Seville to Santo Domingo.

The time came, when amid the changes and vicissitudes of earthly things Spain was to yield up all her claim to Hispaniola which she had held from its discovery by Columbus. Before retiring from Santo Do-

mingo, however, the Spanish authorities resolved to remove the ashes of Columbus. In 1795 the place where they were walled in was opened, some fragments of a leaden case, some pieces of bone were found. These were regarded as the remains of the great Discoverer, although there was no inscription, no mark of any kind to authenticate them.

With a laudable desire to honor Columbus, these were placed in a gilded case, officially locked, and carried to Havana, and are said still to lie in the cathedral of that city.

A marble slab records that the remains of Columbus have there found a resting-place. This claim was tacitly admitted, in spite of the lack of absolute evidence as to their authenticity till the year 1877, when excavations in the same part of the sanctuary of the ancient cathedral led to the discovery

of a vault containing a leaden case which bore inscriptions with the name and titles of Christopher Columbus.

Santo Domingo recognized these as the real remains of Columbus, and maintained that in the hasty operations of 1795 the bones of some other member of the Columbus family were then taken to Havana, and that the remains of the Discoverer of America had never left their ancient cathedral walls. But while the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the Dominican Republic were congratulating themselves on the honor which the discovery gave them, the event produced a far different effect in the sister isle. In



EFFIGY OF COLUMBUS AT HAVANA.

Cuba the reported existence of the remains of Columbus at Santo Domingo was received with little less than indignation. It was regarded as an attempt to deprive the city of Havana of one of its most prized and glorious possessions.

Spain took up the cause of her colony, and Señor Lopez Prieto in Havana,<sup>1</sup> and Don Manuel Colmeiro<sup>2</sup> in an Informe addressed to the Royal Academy of History in Madrid, assailed the authenticity of the discovery in Santo Domingo. The controversy that arose was one of the warmest historical discussions of our time, and Archbishop Roque Cocchia was even accused of having conceived and carried out a stupendous fraud.

For a time articles of greater or less length, all upholding the Spanish

<sup>1</sup> Informe que sobre los restos de Colon presente al Excmo S<sup>r</sup> Gobernador Gral. Don Joaquin Jovellar y Solar. . . . Don Antonio Lopez Prieto. Habana, 1878.

<sup>2</sup> Los Restos de Colon. Informe de la Real Academia de la Historia. Madrid, 1879.

view of the question, circulated through the press in this country. It was the intemperate character of these articles that drew my attention to the question. I wrote to several editors and endeavored to ascertain the evidence in the hands of the writers, but not in a single case could I obtain the slightest response. One thing was clear, they did not emanate from any of the historical scholars of the country. They were merely the work of penny-a-liners.

The next step was to collect, as far as practicable, the accredited documents of the whole controversy and study the question on its merits.

Let us then go back to the last days of the great man. Returning from his last voyage, Columbus, broken in health and spirits, reached Spain in 1504. His great object was to seek a restoration of his rights and property. It was not till the month of May in the following year that he was able to set out for the Court, which was then at Valladolid. When he arrived there, Isabel was no more. From Ferdinand, who ruled Castile as regent for his daughter, he could obtain nothing. The impoverished Admiral lingered for a year in the city seeking redress.

Courtiers naturally overlooked one no longer high in favor. We look in vain in correspondence of the time for any mention of the presence of the great Admiral at Valladolid. When Ferdinand went from that city to meet his poor daughter Jane, who was coming with her husband, Philip, Columbus was on his death-bed. He expired on May 20, 1506. His countryman, Peter Martyr, who had written proudly of him in the day of his prosperity, though at Valladolid, never alludes to Columbus in his letters of that period.<sup>1</sup> Even his son Ferdinand, in the life of his father, gives no details of his death, except that he received the sacraments with great devotion, and that his last words were: "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit!"<sup>2</sup>

There is no contemporary record at all of his death, or of his burial. An official document, dated twenty-seven days after his death, contains the phrase: "The said Admiral is dead."<sup>3</sup>

It is commonly stated<sup>4</sup> that his body was first laid in a vault in a church of the Franciscan Fathers, but it was removed to Seville before March, 1509, and placed in the vault of the Carthusian monastery.<sup>5</sup> This was done

<sup>1</sup> *Opus Epistolarum, Petri Martyris*. Elzevir, 1670, pp. 167-175.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita di Cristoforo Colombo descritta da Ferdinando suo Figlio*. Londra, 1867, p. 361.

<sup>3</sup> Navarrete, II., p. 316.

<sup>4</sup> There is as yet no proof of this. HARRISSE: *Les Sepultures*, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Will of Diego Colon, March, 1509; Tejera: *Los Dos Restos*, p. 96; Colmeiros, p. 146; Roque Cocchia: *Los Restos*, p. 273; Tejera: *Los Dos Restos*, p. 6.

by the family as a step toward carrying out Columbus' wish to be deposited in Santo Domingo. The coffins of his brother Bartholomew and of his son Diego were in time laid beside him.

Steps had been taken to secure their removal to Santo Domingo, a royal order in the name of Queen Jane<sup>1</sup> permitting their remains to be interred in the sanctuary of the cathedral of that city. But objections were raised, the project dragged along, and the bodies lay still in the Cuevas or vaults of the Carthusians.

When Ferdinand, the surviving son of Christopher Columbus, made his will in May, 1539, they were still apparently there. He directs his body to be laid in the cathedral at Seville, but in case this was found to be impracticable, he asks to be laid in the vaults of the Carthusians. "I select it," he says, "in consequence of the great devotion which my father and brother, who were Admirals of the Indies, and I myself always felt for that house, and because their bodies have for a long time been deposited there."<sup>2</sup>

No positive data have yet been found to fix the time of the removal of the bodies. When Ferdinand Columbus died he was interred in the cathedral of Seville. Of the remains of his illustrious father we hear no more till the year 1549, when, according to a document of Alonso de Fuenmayor, Archbishop of Santo Domingo, "the tomb of the great Admiral Christopher Columbus in which his bones lie, was greatly venerated and respected in our holy Church, in the main sanctuary."<sup>3</sup>

This makes the period within which the removal took place the decade between 1539 and 1549. At the last of these dates the cathedral had been completed nine years, and the family of Columbus may have awaited the termination of the architectural work and the formal consecration before removing the bodies from Seville to the sanctuary of the church on the banks of the Ozama.

Although no allusion is made to Diego, the fact that his body was carried to Santo Domingo with his father's is stated positively by Loaisa, a writer of the next century, treating expressly of the Carthusian vaults at Seville.<sup>4</sup>

Other allusions to Christopher Columbus soon occur, according to documents in the possession of Señor Prieto. In 1559 Las Casas speaks of the cathedral as the resting-place of Christopher Columbus, but it is not till 1655, nearly a century later, that there is the slightest indication of the part of the sacred edifice in which we must look for the tomb. There is no allusion to monument, mural tablet, bust, or inscription. Yet there seems to

<sup>1</sup> Los Restos, p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> Cited by Lopez Prieto. Examen, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> HARRISSE: Fernand Colomb, p. 192.

<sup>4</sup> Colmeiro, p. 160.



have been something to mark the spot, for at the time when Cromwell's fleet menaced the island, Archbishop Francisco Pio requested the authorities to cover the monuments in the cathedral, especially that of "the Old Admiral which is in the Gospel of my holy Church and chapel."<sup>1</sup>

Some years later, when the island had been visited by a severe earthquake, Archbishop Juan de Escalante, in soliciting aid for his cathedral, alleges as one ground, "that on the right of the altar in the main sanctuary lies buried the illustrious Christopher Columbus."<sup>2</sup>

Somewhat later, in 1683, a Diocesan Synod was held. Then we begin to receive a little more light, and read:

"This island having been discovered by the illustrious and most famous man in the world, Christopher Columbus, whose bones lie in a leaden case in the sanctuary at the side of the platform of the High Altar of this our Cathedral, with those of his brother Don Luis Colon, which are on the other side according to the tradition of the aged in this island."<sup>3</sup>

The little work, printed not in Santo Domingo but in Madrid, seems here to have omitted some words and misprinted one. No brother of the Admiral was laid there. Bartholomew, interred at first in Santo Domingo, was carried to Spain and laid in the Carthusian vaults at Seville; while it was Diego's remains which accompanied his father's in the transfer to the island of Hispaniola.

Yet the mention of Don Luis was not without foundation. There was a Don Luis, son of Diego and grandson of Christopher Columbus. He, too, bore the title of Admiral, and was Duke of Veraguas. Exiled to Oran, he died there, and, as though every one of the family was destined after death to cross the ocean, his body was carried to the Cathedral of Santo Domingo.<sup>4</sup>

These are the indications, few and vague, as to the burial-place of Columbus for more than a century and a half. Nowhere can we discover any allusion to monument or inscription. In our times<sup>5</sup> it has been said that King Ferdinand ordered the erection of a monument, but if the order was really given there is no evidence that it was ever carried out, and we may well doubt whether the King of Arragon ever gave such an order after Jane ascended the throne of Castile, to which the New World owed homage. Others cite an inscription presumed to have been graven on his tablet or monument.

<sup>1</sup> Gloriosa Hazaña, cited by Prieto, Informe, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Document cited by Prieto.

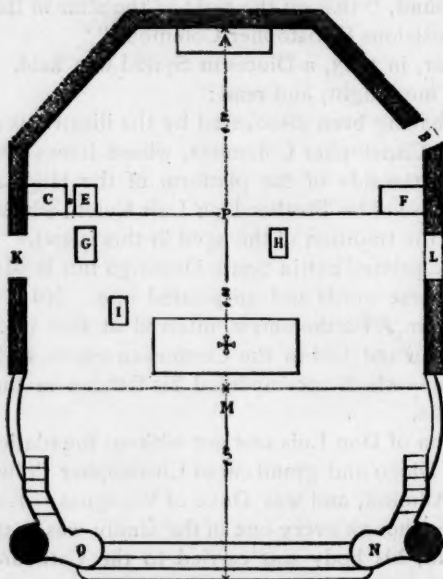
<sup>3</sup> Synodo Dicesana del Arzobispado di Santo Domingo, p. 13; Harris: Sepultures, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Cocchia: Los Restos, p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> By Washington Irving.

This has been traced to a volume of poems on Spanish worthies, each embodying an epitaph, not one of which can be shown to have ever really been actually used.<sup>1</sup>

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries give us merely the information that the remains of Christopher Columbus, in a leaden case, were finally consigned to a vault within the sanctuary of the Cathedral at the right side of



CHANCEL OF THE CATHEDRAL OF SAN DOMINGO.

A, Platform of the Altar; B, Entrance to Sacristy; C, Tomb of Christopher Columbus; E, Tomb of Diego Columbus; F, Tomb of Luis Columbus; G, Grave of Juan Sanchez Ramirez; H, I, Graves of persons unknown; K, Entrance to the Chapter House; L, An Ancient Door; M, Present Chancel Rail; N, Epistle Stand; O, Gospel Stand; P, Position of the old Chancel Rail.

the platform of the high altar, and that a Louis of the same family lay on the other side.

Nearly a century rolled away, and we hear nothing of the Discoverer of America till 1783, when a French gentleman, L. E. Moreau de Saint-Méry, engaged on a work devoted to the topographical and political description of Santo Domingo, sought more definite information, as in the language of the Synod of 1683, "nothing is said to direct us which is placed on the

<sup>1</sup> The Elegies of Castellanos, published in 1588.

right, or which on the left." <sup>1</sup> Securing the favor of Admiral Solano, he obtained from the chapter of the Cathedral such knowledge as they possessed.

Two months before reparations and improvements had been made in the Cathedral. The sanctuary was enlarged so as to take in part of the body of the church, and it was filled in so that it was somewhat above the original level. In reply to Moreau de St. Méry, Peralta says, "The remains of Christopher Columbus are enclosed in a leaden coffin, surrounded with a case of stone, which is buried on the Gospel side of the sanctuary, and that those of Don Bartholomew, his brother, are interred in the same manner on the Epistle side of the sanctuary."

So loose had tradition become that the body of Don Bartholomew was supposed to be in the possession of the Cathedral, although the name of Luis is given in the ancient synod to which they appealed. The mason work around the leaden boxes is spoken of as a stone case. These vaults, cases, or receptacles, were built out from the wall of the sanctuary, and rose little, if at all, above the floor of that portion of the Cathedral, and it was probably intended to mark each by an engraved slab. When the sanctuary was filled in, these vaults were left considerably below the new surface, so that evidently there was nothing at all to convey to a visitor any information as to their existence. Moreau de St. Méry certainly would not have taken all the steps he records to ascertain the spot had there been any slab or mark to designate it.

Don Isidore Peralta wrote: "About two months ago, as some repairs were making in the church, a piece of thick wall was taken down, and built up again immediately after. This accidental event was the occasion of finding the stone case above mentioned, and which, though without inscription, was known, from uninterrupted and invariable tradition, to contain the remains of Columbus." <sup>2</sup>

The certificate of Don José Nuñez de Caseres, Dean of the Chapter, gives other details:

"There was found on the side of the choir where the Gospel is sung, and near the door which opens on the stairs leading to the Capitular Chamber, a stone case, hollow, of a cubic form, and about a vare in depth, enclosing a leaden urn a little damaged, which contained several human bones. I also certify that some years ago, on a like occasion, there was found on the Epistle side, another stone case, resembling the one above described; and that, according to the tradition handed down and commu-

<sup>1</sup> Moreau de St. Méry: *A Topographical and Political Description of the Spanish Port of Saint Domingo*. Philadelphia, 1796, I., p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 128.

nicated by the old men of the country, and by a chapter of the Synod of this holy cathedral Church, the case found on the Gospel side is reputed to contain the remains of Admiral Christopher Columbus, and that found on the Epistle side, those of his brother; not being able to verify, however, whether the latter be really the remains of Don Bartholomew, or of Don Diego, son of the Admiral." (P. 129.)

Without delaying to note the confusion as to Don Bartholomew, and the neglect of the evidence of the Synod that Don Luis was the one buried on the opposite side from the great Discoverer, we may infer from the silence that there was no inscription on the leaden case found on the Gospel side, and that when the vault on the other side was opened, the contents of the stone case were not examined for the purpose of identifying who really lay there. Moreau de St. Méry, after giving the certificates justly remarked:

"Such are the only proofs of the inestimable deposit contained in the primatial church of Santo Domingo, and even they are immersed in a sort of obscurity; since it cannot be positively affirmed, which of the two cases holds the ashes of Christopher Columbus; unless by following tradition, we determine from the difference in the dimensions of the cases; because that in which it is said the remains of Columbus are lodged, is thirty-two inches deep, while the other is only two-thirds as deep." (P. 131.)

As Moreau de St. Méry was engaged on a work upon the island, which he finally published in Philadelphia, in 1793, in French, and "done into English" by William Cobbett, he was anxious to obtain more definite information, and in 1787 he endeavored through a friend to pursue the inquiry, but in vain.

"What a subject of reflection for the philosopher!" he exclaims. "Scarcely are three hundred years past since the discovery of the New World, and already we hardly know what are become of the precious remains of the sagacious, enterprising, and intrepid discoverer? We see him expressing an anxious solicitude that his ashes may repose in the capital of the immense island which first established the truth of his opinions with respect to the existence of a western hemisphere; they are transported hither posterior to the construction of the principal edifice, the cathedral, and yet, oh supine indifference for all that is truly noble! not a mausoleum, not a monument, not even an inscription to tell where they lie." (P. 132.)

Spain had already lost one-half of the island; ere long Republican France compelled her to yield the rest. The Lieutenant-General, Gabriel de Aris-tazabal, apparently in compliance with the wish of the Duke of Veraguas, who bore the expense of the translation of the remains, applied to Governor Joaquin Garcia, to the Archbishop of Santo Domingo, and to the chapter

of the cathedral for permission to remove the remains of Christopher Columbus to Havana, in order to be deposited there till the King of Spain decided upon their permanent resting-place.

From the official Act drawn up on the occasion it appears that on December 20, 1795, in presence of the Regidor, Don Gregorio Savignon, the Archbishop of Santo Domingo, Lieutenant-General Aristazabal, Brigadier Cansi, Quartermaster Antonio Barba, Lieutenant-Colonel de la Rocha, and other persons of rank and repute, "a vault was opened which is in the sanctuary on the gospel side, main wall and platform of the high altar, one cubic yard in size, and therein were found some thin pieces of lead about one-third wide, showing that there had been a box of said metal, and pieces of bones, as it were, of shin bones, or other parts of some deceased person; these were collected in a salver, which was filled with the earth, which from the fragments which it contained of some small ones, and its color, was seen to belong to that corpse, and the whole was placed in a gilt leaden case with an iron lock; this was locked, and the key delivered to the said most illustrious Archbishop, and which box is about half a yard long and broad, and somewhat more than a quarter high. This was afterward placed in a small case lined with black velvet and trimmed with gold lace." A solemn high mass was celebrated, and the case was borne with military honors to the brigantine Descubridor, which conveyed it to Havana."<sup>1</sup>

From beginning to end of this Act there is no mention of the name of Christopher Columbus. With singular caution the writer avoids all names, and describes the remains simply as those of some dead person found in a vault on the right of the sanctuary between the main wall and the platform of the altar.

Yet this is the sole evidence that the remains carried to Havana are those of Christopher Columbus. No presumption even in their favor can arise unless it be shown that there are no other remains in that part of the sanctuary. As Mr. Henry Harrisse, known by his bibliographical labors on our earliest period, and special studies on Columbus, well concludes: "In the actual state of the question nothing, absolutely nothing proves that the bones preserved or supposed to be preserved in the cathedral of Havana are really the mortal remains of Christopher Columbus."<sup>2</sup>

The desolation of the island under the negro rule interrupted the line of archbishops, and it is only since the Dominican Republic has been established that the ancient cathedral has acquired some of its old dignity by the establishment of a provisional bishop, Monsignor Roque Cocchia, as

<sup>1</sup> Acta de la Exhumacion in Prieto's Informe, p. 20; Colmeiro, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> Harrisse: *Les Sepultures*, p. 27.



Vicar Apostolic. He is a member of the Capuchin order, given to historical research, and before his elevation to the episcopal rank acquired a reputation by his "History of the Capuchin Missions." Years ago I sought his aid in tracing the early Capuchin Missions on the coast of Maine. His works showed extensive and careful research, and have never been impeached.

In April, 1877, while he was absent from the city of Santo Domingo, the Rev. Francis X. Billini, rector of the cathedral, wished to reopen a door leading from the sanctuary to the sacristy on the epistle side, which had long been walled up with rough masonry. This door dated prior to the raising of the sanctuary and evidently went to the old level. In removing these stones, a niche was discovered containing a leaden case. The stones were replaced to await the Bishop's return, but as this was delayed, the rector proceeded to examine, and discovered a piece of sheet lead, with evidently lettering on it. This leaden plate was cleansed and deciphered by Don Carlos Nouel, who made out "El Almirante Don Luis Colon, Duque de Veraguas y Marques de . . . ." (The Admiral Don Luis Colon, Duke of Veraguas, and Marquis of . . . ), the rest was corroded and illegible.

The vault was then closed till the Bishop's return. It was opened on September 1, 1877, and found to contain a leaden case and human bones more or less preserved. This was done in presence of the clergy of the cathedral, several members of the Dominican ministry, the German, Italian, Spanish, American, and Dutch consuls.<sup>1</sup> These were held to be the remains of Don Luis, the grandson of Christopher Columbus, and to be those referred to in the Acts of the Synod of 1683. Before the enlargement of the sanctuary this must have been just within the altar railing, and according to the Synod, the vault of Christopher was on the opposite side. On September 8th, excavation was begun under the bishop's throne, at the opposite side of the sanctuary. Two graves were here found. In one the body had mouldered into dust; in the other the bones and even the gold lace of the attire were recognizable.<sup>2</sup> The excavation was continued on the following day till a hewn stone was reached, which on being lifted showed a small empty vault. This was naturally supposed to be that opened in 1795. Excavation in the direction of the altar led to no result, and on the 10th it was continued toward the main wall, in presence of the Rev. Francis X. Billini, and the sacristan, J. M. Troncoso. In a short time a large rough stone was reached, broken on one side, showing a vault within and what

<sup>1</sup> Tejera: *Los Dos Restos*, p. 39; *Acta del hallazgo*; Cocchia: *Los Restos*, p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> These were identified by the records as Don Isidore Peralta and Don Juan Sanchez Ramirez.

appeared to be a case. The Bishop was summoned and repaired to the spot with the Italian consul and the director of the work, a Cuban gentleman. When the Bishop had with some difficulty introduced his arm into the opening and removed part of the coating on the case some letters appeared. Deeming the discovery of real importance the Bishop closed the opening, and sent invitations to the President of the Dominican Republic and his Cabinet, the President of the Legislative Chamber, and other state officials, as well as the foreign consuls. When they assembled the little vault was opened, the case taken up and set on a music stand. When the exterior was cleansed, on the top appeared—D de la A P<sup>a</sup> A<sup>a</sup>:

D. de la A. P<sup>a</sup> A<sup>a</sup>.

(Discoverer of America, First Admiral), on the sides and front C. C. A. The case on being opened contained human bones, and the inside of the lid bore the letters:

Ill<sup>re</sup> y Es<sup>do</sup> Varon D<sup>a</sup> Cristoval Colon

(Illustrious and Renowned Man, Christopher Columbus).

Ill<sup>re</sup> y Es<sup>do</sup> Varon  
D<sup>a</sup> Cristoval Colon

The bones were examined, and a ball of lead and two iron screws were found. It was then placed in a wooden box, which was locked up and officially sealed.<sup>1</sup> This second vault, though reached only in a circuitous way, was really part of the same construction as the empty one, the two being, as the American Consul, Paul Jones, assured Mr. Whitehead, separated only by a wall of masonry six inches thick.<sup>2</sup> The two vaults are of

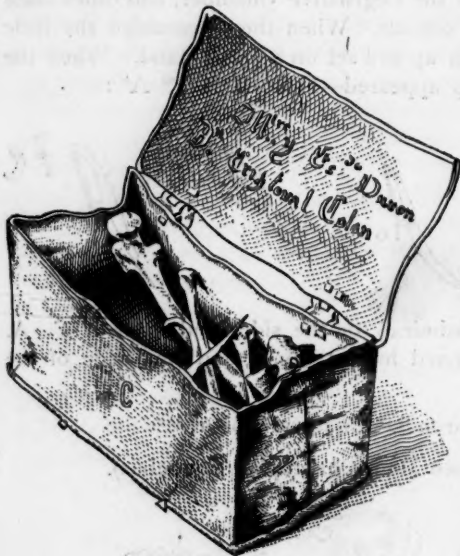
<sup>1</sup> Acta del 10 de Setiembre de 1877; Cocchia, p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society, Vol. V., p. 134; Tejera: Los Dos Restos, p. 15.

the same character and age, to all appearance laid at the same time. The Spanish Consul Señor Echeverri, not only saw nothing to excite any suspicion of fraud, but claimed the remains for Spain, on account of an error or imposition practised in 1795.<sup>1</sup> The discovery was announced through the press, and Bishop Roque Cocchia, in whose cathedral these remains were found, communicated the fact to his flock in a pastoral letter. But if the

people of the Dominican Republic exulted in the discovery, the same feeling did not prevail elsewhere.

The people of Cuba, and especially of Havana, resented it, and the King of Spain appointed Señor Antonio Lopez Prieto, an historical scholar of eminence in Havana, to proceed to Santo Domingo and investigate the matter with the Spanish consul. After some delay these two gentlemen examined the case at the College of San Luis Gonzaga on January 2, 1878. In the more thorough examination of the box at this time there was found among the mould at the bottom of the case a small plate, which, on being



COFFER AND BONES.

cleansed, proved to be of silver, with two screw-holes, by which it had evidently been at one time affixed to the case by means of the iron screws. On this silver plate there were inscriptions on both sides. One side reads (as given on the next page):

U<sup>a</sup> p<sup>te</sup> de los r<sup>tos</sup>  
del p<sup>mer</sup> Al<sup>te</sup> D  
Cristoval Colon, Des<sup>r</sup>.

(A Part [or as Señor Tejera thinks Ultima, that is, Last Part] of the Remains of the first Admiral, D<sup>a</sup> Christopher Columbus, Discoverer.)

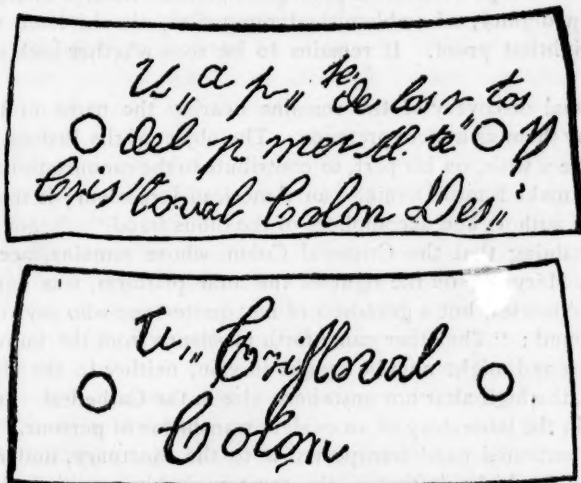
<sup>1</sup> Do existen depositadas las Cenizas de Cristobal Colon? por D. José de Echeverri. Santander. 1878, p. 11.

The other side had

U Cristoval  
Colon.<sup>1</sup>

Señor Lopez Prieto drew up a report in which his rich store of printed and manuscript matter enabled him to throw much light on the existence of the remains of Columbus at Santo Domingo. He addressed his report, or Informe, to Don Joaquin Jovellar, Captain-General of Cuba, and employed his talent to attack the authenticity of the remains found in 1877.

The Spanish Government, also, as Mr. Harris assured us, on receiving intelligence of the discovery at Santo Domingo, forbade the copying of any



PLATES FOUND IN THE COFFER.

documents in the national archives; and in 1878, Señor Manuel Colmeiro, an able and accomplished writer, drew up an Informe, which the Real Academia de la Historia of Madrid presented to the King of Spain, on this subject. This report was issued by Government. The question was thus elevated from the rank of a mere historical question into an affair of State, where the honor and credit of a great and noble nation was concerned.

No one can respect Spain or its illustrious Academy of History more than I do, and I acknowledge personal obligations to the Academy. Therefore, in studying the question the arguments of the Academy's advocate,

<sup>1</sup> Acta del día 2 de Enero de 1878, Cocchia, p. 305.

Señor Colmeiro, and those of Señor Lopez Prieto have been examined with every effort to ensure perfect and absolute impartiality.

Both of these writers seek to uphold the claim of Havana, and to impeach the discovery made in Santo Domingo in 1877. They adduce arguments to uphold the authenticity of the Havana relics. As to Santo Domingo, the events were public, attested by many, and apparently beyond doubt. They could assail them only by showing that the vaults and cases found were supposititious—a pure fabrication.

To carry out this theory, they assail the character of Archbishop Roque Cocchia. He is represented to us more or less directly as an impostor, the conceiver and perfecter of a prodigious fraud. Such a charge against a person in dignity, of unblemished reputation, should have the clearest and weightiest proof. It remains to be seen whether such proofs are adduced.

The casual discovery of the remains bearing the name of Don Luis, is treated by them as a mere pretence. The object of the Bishop is directly alleged to be a wish, on his part, to contribute to the canonization of Columbus, and so make Santo Domingo an American Jerusalem; it treats him as one of "the authors and accomplices of the pious fraud." Señor Colmeiro, after maintaining that the Cristoval Colon, whose remains, according to Moreau St. Méry, lay on the right of the altar platform, was not the Discoverer of America, but a grandson of his, quotes one who says of the second case found: "The other came forth in silence from the known spot in which it was and might now be sought in vain, neither to the right of the platform of the high altar nor anywhere else in the Cathedral. It was consummated in the laboratory of an evident transfusion of persons. A devout and well-intentioned hand transported it to the sanctuary, under the spot occupied by the bishop's throne, the same probably occupied till 1795 by the remains of the discoverer."<sup>1</sup>

For all this he gives no proof whatever. In an historical discussion in this country it would scarcely be permitted to make such charges without some proof of the bad character of the accused. Nor does it comport with our ideas of high Spanish honor to make unsupported charges of this nature against one whose profession precludes him from seeking reparation in the courts of law or the field of honor.

In the controversy which now forms a literature of its own, and in which Archbishop Roque Cocchia, Messrs. Prieto in Havana, Colmeiro in Madrid

<sup>1</sup> A writer in a Caraccas newspaper! Colmeiro, pp. 118, 136; compare Tejera: *Los Dos Restos*, p. 12; and the clear refutation in the *Informe presentado a la Sociedad Literaria*, "Amigos del País," Santo Domingo, 1882.



Harrisse in Paris, Tejera in Santo Domingo, Echeverri in Spain, Belgrano and others in Italy have taken part, the advocates on the Spanish side adopt a system which we, at a distance, and with nothing to bias us in favor of either side, cannot recognize as just or sound, for at the great bar of historical criticism both sides must be held to the same rules of evidence.

But they insist on everything being taken for granted in regard to the excavations of 1795, and they not only impeach all the evidence of that of 1877, but they even assail the good faith of all concerned, and fail to produce even presumptive proof.

The vault found in 1795 must, according to them, be regarded as unquestionably ancient; but that found in 1877 requires proof of its age, Señor Prieto stating, "my opinion is that it has not the antiquity supposed." There was no inscription of any kind with the remains taken up in 1795, but they must be conceded to be those of Christopher Columbus, while those found in 1877 are false because they have an inscription. Those concerned in the examination in 1795, we are required to believe, acted in perfect faith, free from all pious fraud, and endued with unerring accuracy, while they insist on our regarding all concerned in the affair of 1877 as impostors and authors of a pious fraud.

This course cannot be admitted. What one side is required to prove, the other is under equal obligation to support by evidence. A charge of fraud must be sustained by evidence, or by such a train of circumstances as to admit of no other alternative. There cannot be a discrimination made between the two parties. The discussion has taken a very wide range, and many collateral points have been strenuously contested, although they had no direct bearing on the main question.

All that relates to Columbus has been more thoroughly sifted and studied, and in this respect the discussion has been beneficial. Much that has hitherto passed for history must now be consigned to the department of rhetoric and belles-lettres.

To sum up all. The Havana remains are without a shadow of proof. They are simply as the Act declares them, the remains of some deceased person, found in a vault at the right of the high altar. To identify them with Columbus, it must be shown that his bones, and no other, were ever deposited there.

Admitting that the remains of Columbus were in the sanctuary till 1795, the Act of that year does not prove their removal, but leaves the strong probability that they were left there, because we naturally expect some inscription with his remains. As the proof of their removal fails, their discovery in that place by more careful examination must be regarded as prob-

able; and an alleged discovery cannot without violence to good sense be at once stigmatized as a fraud.

The exploration of the sanctuary shows three stone vaults, two on the right, one on the left, and no others, and especially none of the small size that would be made for the reception of a case containing merely the fleshless bones of one previously interred elsewhere. The three whose remains were thus committed to the sanctuary of the cathedral, so far as we can learn, were Christopher Columbus, his son Diego, and his grandson Luis. Doña Maria de Toledo, widow of Diego, and Vice-queen of the Indies, mother and guardian of Luis, appears in the documents alone in connection with the interment of these members of the Columbus family in the cathedral of Santo Domingo. It was she who obtained Royal Cédulas from Charles V. for the removal of the bodies of her husband and his illustrious father, and pursued the matter till the obstacles raised were overcome. After the period of the removal of the remains of Christopher and his son Diego, her wayward son died in Oran, and his removal to the spot she had secured with such difficulty seems natural. But when she passed away no other of the family seems to have claimed sepulture here. The interment of a second Christopher Columbus there is the dream of J. J. de Armas of Caraccas, who does violence to the whole context of Moreau de St. Méry: and there must be positive proof of his bones being encased in lead and placed there before we can believe the case of 1877 to be his, falsified so as to pass for that of his grandfather.

Three vaults, and only three, have been traced, and two graves of modern date easily identified. These vaults contained cases bearing the names of Christopher Columbus and Don Luis. The inference does not seem rash that the third, empty when found in 1877, once contained the case of Diego, and that his were the remains removed to Havana in 1795.

The authenticity of the case is attacked mainly on the ground that the inscriptions do not show them to be contemporaneous with the removal. As the case may have been renewed at the period of one of the examinations, this would not be sufficient to show that the contents were not genuine.

The main objections are that the lettering "D de la A" implies a use of the word America, not recognized then in Spain, the term "The Indies" being universally used. This is the strongest point, but the use of the word is not absolutely without examples to support it.

Another objection is the spelling of the name of Cristoval, which it is insisted should have the letter *h*. This point is a very weak one, and Señor Colmeiro in his volume gives two examples not only of the time, but in the Columbus family where the *h* is omitted. These are the first and second

inscriptions on the tomb of Ferdinand Columbus, in both of which it is spelled as it is on the case.<sup>1</sup>

We do not find their arguments convincing that the rude lead box is a fabrication, simply from the fact that the initial of America is given and Cristoval spelt without an *h*.

Yet the charge of fraud rests mainly on this; and until the fact of fraud is made out by strong circumstantial evidence, we must acknowledge the cases to be apparently genuine.

Hence it seems to me that the Spanish advocates have failed to prove the Havana remains to be those of Christopher Columbus; and that they have failed, so far at least, to make out anything like a strong case in support of their charge of imposture made against the alleged discovery in 1877.

The weight of evidence, as the question now stands, seems to be in favor of the view that the remains of Christopher Columbus were then really discovered.

JOHN GILMARY SHEA

<sup>1</sup> Colmeiro, pp. 194, 195.



CARAVEL OF THE TIME OF COLUMBUS.

### SIR THOMAS WEST, THIRD LORD DE LA WARR

There is nothing more useful and entertaining than the lives of great and excellent men, and yet it often happens that through the neglect of contemporaries, biographical materials are wanting. Unfortunately, this neglect sometimes causes injustice, and thus it is in the present case. One can but wonder that the life of De La Warr, the founder of the first permanent English settlement in America, has never been attempted. A man of the highest social position and character; whose determination planted that colony amidst the most discouraging circumstances; whose influence prevented its abandonment, in the face of the saddest disasters, and who gave his fortune and his life to the cause. To retrieve this neglect, so far as it may lie in my power, I shall attempt to collect in one view something of what can now be gathered from various authors, who occasionally mention the name and actions of Sir Thomas West, third Lord De la Warr, hoping that this short account, though very imperfect, may do some justice to the memory of that noble person.

The oldest will written in English, preserved at Somerset House, is the will of Lady Alice West, widow of Sir Thomas West, and daughter and heir of Reginald Fitz-Herbert. It was proved September 1, 1395. Her son, Sir Thomas West, Knight, third Baron West, married Joan, daughter of Sir Roger La Warr, who, assisted by John de Pelham, captured the King of France at the battle of Poitiers, September 19, 1356. Joan La Warr, through her mother, Alianore, daughter of John Lord Mowbray, descended from the Royal Houses of England, France, Scotland, and Normandy, and from her, by her marriage with the third Baron West, descended Sir William West, who having served with great distinction in the English army at the siege of St. Quintin, in Picardy, was knighted at Hampton Court, February 5, 1568, and created at the same time Lord De la Warr. He died at Wherwell, December 30, 1595, leaving by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Strange of Chesterton, three daughters and one son, Sir Thomas (born 1555) knighted in 30 Elizabeth, succeeded his father as second Lord De La Warr in 1595. "In 1601, he was one of the peers on the trials of the Earls of Essex and Southampton, February 19th, in Westminster Hall; and when they were pronounced guilty, the Earl of Essex, before he left the lords, asked 'pardon of the Lord de la Warr, and the Lord Morley, for bringing their sons into danger, who were un-

acquainted with the whole matter.' He died March 24, 1602, and by Anne, his wife, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, Knight of the Garter, and Treasurer of the Household to Queen Elizabeth had issue "thirteen children.

Genealogy is an important groundwork for history, and I would like to give more of it here, in order to show how many of Lord De la Warr's connections and relatives were his aiders and abettors in planting Virginia; but I must confine myself in the present article to the founder's immediate family.

Lady Mary Boleyn, sister to Queen Anne Boleyn, first cousin to Queen Catherine Howard, and aunt to Queen Elizabeth, married, in 1521, Sir William Cary (or Carey), Esquire of the Body to Henry VIII., he died about 1527, leaving two infant children, Henry Cary (afterward first Lord Hunsdon) and Katherine Cary. The descendants of these two children, and their connections, were among the most active agents of colonization. Katherine Cary married Sir Francis Knollys aforesaid, by whom she was mother to eleven children, many of whom, together with their descendants, were friends to the English Colonies. Her daughter, Anne Knollys (Knowles), married Sir Thomas West, second Lord De la Warr, by whom she had thirteen children, viz.:

1. Walsingham West, died young.
2. Elizabeth West, born September 11, 1573. Her sponsors in baptism were *Queen Elizabeth*, the Countess of Lincoln, and the Earl of Leicester. She married, February 12, 1593-4, Herbert Pelham, Sr., Esq. His second wife.
3. Helena West, married Sir William Savage of Winchester, Recorder.
4. Sir Robert West (died in life of his father), married Elizabeth, daughter to Sir Henry Coks of Broksborn, Cofferer to Queen Elizabeth.
5. SIR THOMAS WEST, who succeeded his father as third Lord De La Warr.
6. Lettice West, married Henry Ludlow of Tedley, in the County of Southampton, Esq.
7. Penelope West, born September 9, 1582, married Herbert Pelham, Jr., Esq., son of Herbert Pelham, Sr., Esq., by his first wife. Many of their children and descendants were interested in colonization. Their son, Herbert Pelham, was the first treasurer of Harvard College, N. E., and their daughter, Penelope Pelham, was second wife to Governor Richard Bellingham of Massachusetts.



8. Anne West, married John Pellet, son and heir of Sir Benjamin Pellet.
9. Catherine West, said to have died unmarried.
10. Captain Francis West, came to Virginia in 1608; for many years a member of the Council there; in 1622 Admiral of New England, and 1627-28 Governor of Virginia. He owned lands at Westover on the James River.
11. Colonel John West, for many years a member of the Council in Virginia and in 1635-37 Acting Governor of the colony. The House of Burgesses (March 1659-60) passed an act acknowledging "the many important favours and services rendered to the countrey of Virginia by the noble family of the West, predecessors to Mr. John West, their now only survivor, etc." (The ancestor of many Virginians.)
12. Captain Nathaniel West, who it seems died in Virginia in 1623.
13. Elizabeth West (the second of the name), married Sir Richard Saltonstall of the N. E. Colony. (His second wife.)

The fifth child and third son, Sir Thomas West, third Lord De la Warr, was born about 1580, and, in the lifetime of his father, when twenty years of age, was knighted. On the death of the Queen, March 24, 1602-3, he was one of the twenty-five lords, privy counsellors, who sent a letter, dated at the Palace of Whitehall, March 28, 1603, to the Lord Eure, and the rest of the commissioners for the treaty of Breame; notifying them of the accession of King James to the throne, and ordering them to make the best conditions they could, in such points as they had in charge, with the imperial commissioners.

In 1602 he married Cecilie, daughter of Sir Thomas Shirley of Wiston in Sussex, Knight, and sister, I am quite sure, to the celebrated travellers, "Sir Anthony, Sir Robert and Master Thomas Shirley." She bore her husband seven children; 1, Sir Henry West, fourth Lord De la Warr; 2, Jane; 3, Elizabeth; 4, Anne, who married Christopher Swaly, D.D., preceptor to Henry, Prince of Wales; 5, Cecily, married, first, Sir Francis Bindlose, Knight, second, Sir John Byron, first Lord Byron; 6, Lucy, married Sir Robert Byron; and 7, Catherine West.

These statements show Lord De la Warr's position in society, and the natural advantages which he had for carrying out any reasonable undertaking in which he was determined to succeed. I will now refer to the services rendered by him to colonization.

On March 7, 1588-9, Sir Walter Raleigh made an assignment from

his Patent to Sir Thomas Smith, Richard Hakluyt, and others. Prospectors continued to go out from time to time, and their reports finally led to a renewal of the efforts for colonizing this continent. On April 10, 1606, King James I. set his seal to an ample Patent. On November 20, 1606, James issued the Code of Laws which he had busied himself in forming for the intended Colony. On December 10, 1606, his Majesty's Council for Virginia issued their orders for the expedition, and their advice for the colonists on landing. Saturday, the 20th of December, in the year 1606, the fleet fell down from London under the command of Captain Christopher Newport, and April 26, 1607, they landed in Virginia. The colony did not prosper; the laws were unfortunate. The officers did not work in harmony, and some time prior to April 15, 1609, the King's Council for the Company made an entire change in the form of government, new officers being appointed to supersede those in Virginia. "Sir Thomas West, 3d Lord De la Warr, 'religious, wise, and of a valorous minde,' distinguished for his virtues as well as rank, received the appointment of Governor and Captain-General for life;" Sir Thomas Gates (of the first charter) next in command, and Sir George Sommers (of the first charter), Admiral. These changes gave the enterprise a new life. Many noblemen, knights, gentlemen, merchants, wealthy tradesmen, and the most of the incorporated trades of London were induced to take shares of stock. A fleet of ten vessels was secured to carry emigrants and supplies to the Colony. Early in May, 1609, Sir George Sommers was at Plymouth, with the *Swallow*, the *Virginia*, and a *Pinnace* ready to sail: but waiting for Sir Thomas Gates, who on the 15th of May sailed from Woolwich with seven sail (*Sea Adventure*, *Diamond*, *Falcon*, *Blessing*, *Unity*, *Lion* and a *Catch*), reaching Plymouth May 20th, where they were delayed until the 2d of June, and then we set sail to sea; but cast by South West winds we put into *Faule mouth*, and there stayed until the eighth of June."

In the meantime, May 23, 1609, the King assigned them a more ample Patent, called the Second Charter, and Lord De la Warr, the Governor of the Colony, was named as one of the King's Council for the Company.

"Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Sommers, who were appointed by Commission to reside in the Countrie," sailed June 8, 1609, from *Faulemouth* with ten vessels and "the better part of 500" colonists. The *Pinnace* soon returned, the *Catch* was lost at sea and the *Sea Adventure* was wrecked on the *Bermudas*. The remaining seven vessels having suffered great losses in colonists by the calature and in provisions, etc., by "a *Hericane*," arrived in Virginia about August 11, 1609, where they found "a few poore houses," "about seaven acres of corn," and, as variously stated,

from eighty to one hundred and eighty persons; who, having been but recently saved, by the opportune arrival of Captain Argall, from a prospect of starvation themselves, were evidently in no condition to protect and succor these people "in their sick and miserable estate." We have here no exact account of the death-rate by sea or land, as it was a matter for concealment; but in "six weeks," we are told, "neere halfe" of about 220 were killed by the Indians at the Falles and in Nansemand, and "in James Towne at the same time and in the same moneths, 100 sickned and halfe the number died." To add to the general distress, the Lieutenant-General was shipwrecked and did not arrive. There was no legal commander, so that there was great confusion. The colonists finally selected Captain George Percy to govern them. On the 4th or 5th of October, 1609, leaving the Swallow and the Virginia, the rest of the fleet returned to England. They left less than three hundred colonists, almost entirely dependent for subsistence on the natural resources of the country, at enmity with the savages, and with the winter already upon them. At first, with savage strategy, Powhatan sent Percy venison and pretended peace, until he "cruelly murdered and massacred Capt. Ratcliffe and about thirty others in an ambush." He then destroyed the hogs, refused all trade, and "laied secret ambushes in the woods." In a little less than eight months about three-fifths of the colonists had died of disease or starvation, or had been killed by the Indians. From April, 1609, to the arrival of Lord De la Warr in June, 1610, was really a starving time in Virginia. They were somewhat relieved by Argall in July, and by being divided and dispersed abroad in August and September, but these divisions gave the Indians the better opportunity to murder them, and during the warm weather the mortality was fearful at Jamestown. The suffering for food, comforts, etc., was naturally greater in the winter than in the summer. The abuse that has been heaped upon the early martyrs to colonization in Virginia is unpardonable.

On the return voyage two of the ships perished upon the point of Ushant. The rest of the fleet came laden with nothing but bad reports and letters of discouragement. From the beginning the Fates seem to have been against this fleet, and "upon these events many adventurers, which had formerly well affected the businesse, when they saw such unexpected tragedies withdrew themselves, and their monies from adventure. Notwithstanding it lessened much the preparations, yet it hindered not the resolution of that noble Lord, appointed Lord Governor—the Lord La Warre—to goe in his own person." On February 21, 1609-10, Lord De la Warr went to Temple Church, where the Rev. Wm. Crashaw delivered an earnest missionary sermon before the Virginia Company of London, from

the text, Daniel xii., 3d verse, "They that turn many to righteousness [shall shine] as the stars forever and forever." In his peroration, the preacher addressed Lord De la Warr: "And thou, most noble Lord, whom God hath stirred up to neglect the pleasures of England, and with Abraham to go from thy country and forsake thy kindred, and thy father's house to go to a land which God will show thee. . . . Remember, thou art a General of English men, nay a General of Christian men; therefore principally look to religion. You go to commend it to the Heathen, then practise it yourselves; make the name of Christ honourable, not hateful, unto them." The preacher also spoke of the great honour gained by his ancestors, "but by this action thou augmenteth it," and "the Blessing of Almighty God was invoked on his undertaking."

April 1, 1610, Lord De la Warr left Cowes in his own good ship, the De la Warr, and with two other vessels, the Blessing and the Hercules, sailed for Virginia, carrying under his absolute command one hundred and fifty colonists and a full supply of provisions for four hundred men for twelve months, to the relief of the colony. But the colony, although reinforced by those who had been shipwrecked on the Bermudas, for reasons over which they had no control, could not exist any longer, and, June 7, 1610, it was determined to abandon the country. Accordingly "that night they fell down with the tide to Hogg Island, and the next morning the tide brought them to Mulberry Island, where they met the long boat of Lord De la Warr, in which he had sent Captain Edward Brewster with letters to Sir Thomas Gates, instructing him to return to Jamestown." Gates, "the very next daye, to the great grieve of all his company (only except Captain John Martin) as winde and weather gave leave returned his whole company with charge to take possession againe of those poore ruinated habitations at Jamestown, which we had formerly abandoned; himselfe in a boate proceeded downeward to meete his Lordship, who making all speede up, arrived shortly after at James Towne," reaching there on the 10th of June, "being Sondag, and in the afternoon went ashoare," where "he first fell on his knees and remained for some time in silent prayer; he then repaired to the church where he first heard a sermon made by Mr. Buck, Sir Thomas Gates, his preacher; after the services he caused his commission to be read, upon which Sir Thomas Gates delivered up to him his owne commission, both patents and the Counsell seale." The Governor then delivered "some few wordes" of reproach, warning, advice and good cheer. "We have no way to judge the future save by the past," and there was nothing in the past experience of the colony to give hope for the future. The colony had been abandoned, the enterprise had proved a

failure ; " none had enjoyed one day of happiness ; " none of the old colony (only except Captain John Martin) wished to return ; there was " found scarcely *the print* of twenty hundred groats disbursed, which had truly cost the adventurers above twenty thousand pounds ; " over seven hundred colonists had been sent out, and in three years over five hundred of these had died, " with cruel diseases and swellings, fluxes, burning fevers, and by warres, and some departed suddenly ; but for the most part they died of mere famine ; " some had left the colony and others had been sent to England " to answer some misdemeanors." Jamestown was " ruined," it was perfumed by the odor from the dead bodies of the English, and " surrounded by the watching, subtle, and offended Indian." As Lord De la Warr wrote to Salisbury, " if it had not have been for the most happy news of Sir Thomas Gates, his arrival, *it would have been sufficient to break my heart.*" For years the expeditions went to Virginia *via* the tropics, the emigrants being crowded together in the " hot holes " of the small vessels of the period ; when the voyage was made in warm weather the calenture was bred among them. De la Warr reached Virginia in the summer ; his people were suffering with the calenture, and in a few months many died. It is apparent that the Governor deserves far more credit for determining, under such discouraging circumstances, to persevere in his undertaking to plant a colony in America, than he would have done if there had been no previous effort. With nothing but failure and misfortune to look back on, with disaster and disease around him, kneeling down on the bank of the river, in silent prayer, he found his only solace from on high ; he placed his only hope on the strong arm of the Almighty, and went most resolutely to work to plant his colony. " Can there be a better beginning than from God, whose wisdom is not questioned and whose footsteps in all succeeding ages have been followed ? "

Under Lord De la Warr's guidance, the prospect at once brightened. On June 15th, Sir George Sommers, writing to Salisbury from Jamestown, says : " They are now in good hope to plant and abide there, for greater care than ever is taken."

On June 12th, the Governor organized his government ; on the 19th, Sir George Sommers and Captain Argall were sent to the Bermudas, from thence they " would fetch six months' provisions of flesh and fish, and some live hoggs." During this voyage, Argall entered the present Delaware Bay and named a cape for the Governor. On the 7th of July, 1610, the Governor and his Council in Virginia wrote a letter to the Company in London, giving a relation of recent accidents, a brief description of the country, and stating the various items of men, provisions, physic, etc.,



thought necessary for the present welfare of the colony. Sir Thomas Gates and Captain Newport, being sent in the Blessing and the Hercules for these necessities, carried this and other letters from Lord De la Warr to England, where they arrived about September, 1610," and found Virginia everywhere evil spoken of, some of those who left Virginia in the Swallow about the first of 1610, having reached England and given sad accounts of the condition in which they left the colony. The abandonment of the undertaking was seriously debated by the Company; and was only given up after earnest deliberations over the letters from Lord De la Warr, and consultations with Sir Thomas Gates. The damaging accounts had then to be met, and November 8, 1610, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Maurice Berkeley, Sir George Coffin, and the celebrated lawyer, Richard Martin, entered a book at Stationers' Hall, praising the soil and climate of Virginia, confronting the scandalous reports by referring to the letters from the Governor and to Sir Thomas Gates in person. This publication is styled "A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia," &c. Referring to Lord De la Warr it says: "Shall their venomous tongues blast the reputation of an ancient and worthy Peere, who, upon the ocular certainty of future blessings, *hath protested in his letters that he will sacrifice himselfe for his countrie in this service, if he may be seconded; and if the Company doe give it over he will yet lay all his fortunes upon the prosecution of the Plantation.*"

"R. Rich, gent, one of the voyage," who possibly returned with Gates, wrote an account of the colony in verse, published at London in 1610, in which, referring to Lord De la Warr, he says:

"And to the Adventurers thus he writes,  
Be not dismayed at all,  
For scandall cannot doe us wrong,  
God will not let us fall.  
Let England know our Willingnesse,  
For that our work is good,  
*Wee hope to plant a nation,  
Where none before hath stood.*"

As soon as the Company determined not to give up the enterprise, they went to work to supply the items called for by De la Warr. The Hercules was returned the latter part of 1610. The next supplies were sent in three vessels in charge of Sir Thomas Dale and Captain Newport, who went down the Thames the latter part of February, and left Land's End, March 17, 1610-11. In order to enable Gates to follow "in Maie next," His Majestie's Council for Virginia, February 28, 1610-11, issued a circular

letter asking assistance. In this letter they say: "The eyes of all Europe are looking upon our *endeavors* to spread the Gospell among the Heathen People of Virginia, to *Plant our English nation there and to settle at in those Parts.*"

Governor De la Warr, while in Virginia, "reduced chaos to order," brought about the harmony necessary to success; organized a regular system of labor; built Forts Henry and Charles near Southampton River, and another fort near The Falles; repaired and remodelled the church at Jamestown, which he caused to be kept "passing sweet and trimmed with divers flowers"—never failing for a day to implore the favor of God, to look principally to religion, and to practise it themselves," following, possibly for the first time in the Colony, the "Advice for the Colony on Landing": "Lastly and chiefly, the way to prosper and achieve good success is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your owne—and to serve and fear God the Giver of all Goodness, for every plantation which our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out."

"When he had settled the colony within itself, his next care was to put them upon a proper footing with regard to the Indians, whom he found very haughty and assuming on account of the late miserable state of the English; but by some well-timed and vigorous steps he humbled them, showed he had power to chastise them, and courage to exert that power; and after having awed them into a very peaceable disposition, and settled his colony in a very growing condition, he retired home for the benefit of his health, which by his constant attention to business and the air of an uncultivated country had been impaired."

March 28, 1611, leaving his colony in charge of Captain George Percy, the Governor sailed in the De la Warr for the Island of Mevis for the benefit of the warm baths, the colony then having about two hundred persons, with provisions for ten months. "Being crossed with southerly winds, he was forced to the Western Isles, where he spent eight days on the Island of Fyall, deriving great benefit from the fresh dyet, especially oranges and Limons." From thence he resolved (although his body still remained feeble and weak) to return back to his charge in Virginia; but he was advised not to hazard himself before he had perfectly recovered his strength, "which by counsell he was persuaded to seeke in the natural ayre of his own country, and so he came for England. In which accident, I doubt not that men of reason and of judgment will imagine there would more danger and prejudice have happened to the colony by his death in Virginia then by his return."

After Dale arrived (May 12, 1611) he wrote (May 25, 1611) to "the

Counsell" that "he found howe careful his Lordship hath been in what either his forces, or own abilitie of bodie enabled him unto. And well I perceived his zeale how it is enflamed to His Right Noble Worke."

Governor De la Warr arrived in England in June, 1611, meeting Sir Thomas Gates at Cowes, on his way to Virginia with three vessels containing men and supplies, and three "carvils" containing "100 kyne and 200 swine." He delivered a relation before the Lords and Counsell of Virginia, and afterward, June 21, 1611, before the General Assembly of the Company, which was printed by William Hall, London, 1611. June 22, 1611, he wrote to Salisbury: "Is weak from the effects of his long sickness; but no whit discouraged from proceeding with the business he had undertaken."

The hope of the Company had centred in Lord De la Warr, and the general confidence reposed in him had enabled them to send extraordinary supplies to the colony; so his unexpected return "wrought a great dampe of coldnesse in the hearts of all." The prospect was very gloomy, many withdrew their support, and many wished to abandon the project. The faith in De la Warr was shaken, but it was not destroyed; and, finally, his representations delivered in council and confirmed by oath induced the Company to renew their exertions. "That Noble Lord assured them, that notwithstanding his ill health, he was far from shrinking, or giving over the enterprise; that he was willing to lay all he was worth on its success, and to return to Virginia with all convenient expedition." The confidence of many was restored, and it was determined not to give over the enterprise. "Lord De la Warr did not forget the Colony; but considering himself as nearer the Fountain-head, thought it his duty to turn the spring of the royal favour more copiously upon the Province which he super-intended." March 12, 1611-12, King James I. granted the Company a third charter, increasing the bounds."

In 1611-12 there were sent with colonists and supplies, the Sarah, the John and Francis, and the Treasurer; in 1613, the Elizabeth; in 1614, the Elizabeth; in 1615, the John and Francis and the Treasurer; in 1616, the Susan; in 1617, the George, a Pinnace, and the George; and in 1618, the Neptune and the Treasurer. Lord De la Warr was part owner of several of these vessels, and they were fitted out partly at his individual expense; some of them were wholly employed in the relieving of the colony. From 1612,<sup>1</sup> for several years, the planting of an English col-

<sup>1</sup> In 1612, we are told that Captain Samuel Argall was ready with two ships, and the Lord Governor himself was preparing to go in his owne person. Argall left England July 23, 1612, in the Treasurer, a vessel partly owned by Lord De la Warr, with instructions to resist the French encroach-

ony in Virginia was bitterly opposed by Spain. In 1612, John Rolfe introduced the cultivation of tobacco in Virginia. The first planting of tobacco is second only in importance to the planting of Virginia. For what would Virginia be without her "*to-back-er*"? May 17, 1614, the celebrated lawyer, Richard Martin, representing the Virginia Company of London before the House of Commons, said that, "*since* Lord De la Warr became Governor, Virginia had become a settled plantation, and all it now needed was the fostering care of England." This is the earliest *official* allusion to Virginia as a settled plantation that I have noted. April 5, 1614, Master John Rolfe and Pocahontas, the great king's daughter, were married. In 1616 they were taken to England by Acting Deputy Governor Sir Thomas Dale, marshal, and were introduced to the king and queen by the Governor of Virginia and Lady De la Warr. In 1613, Captain Argall, in the Treasurer (a vessel owned by Lord De la Warr, his cousin, the Earl of Warwick, and their noble associates), taught the French in New England, in a very positive manner, that they were occupying British territory.

While the Governor was in England, "*nearer the fountain-head*," advancing the interests, and encouraging the permanent settlement of the colony, he was represented in Virginia by Lieutenant- or Deputy-Governors.

December 27, 1617, the Governor was preparing to go again in person to Virginia. I think the colony was regarded as in a promising condition at the time. Sir Thomas Dale, in June, 1616, reported that he had "*left the Colony in great prosperity and peace*." The colony is said to have been prosperous under Yardley in 1616-17; and Argall is said to have found it very prosperous when he arrived in May, 1617; which was the latest news De la Warr had from the colony. The complaints against Argall did not reach England until August, 1618. Indeed, it seems the colony was considered so flourishing and so well established that steps were taken soon after, June, 1616, for founding a college in Virginia, and "*the King had ordered collections to be taken up in each diocese of England for that purpose*." There was no longer any apparent necessity for the old military laws, and I believe the Governor's intention in going over was to organize, in the colony which he had planted and established, a regular civil government, a House of Burgesses, to take steps toward establishing the college, etc., etc. The data for the period prior to April, 1619, is meagre; but as the Virginia Company was still under the same old

ments, etc. It is not improbable that Lord De la Warr intended going over with Argall, at least as far as Virginia, at this time, but was detained in England resisting the Spanish pressure at that time being brought to bear on James I. to have the colony removed from the so-called Spanish territory.

officers, and as Lord De la Warr did not live to carry out his intentions, it is natural to suppose that his successor was instructed to carry them out. As long as De la Warr lived I believe the Company worked together in harmony ; but about a year after his death, as the result of an election, factions arose among the members and continued until they broke up the body.

March 16, 1618, Chamberlain writes that Lord De la Warr, had set out for Virginia ; other accounts state that he left England in April, 1618. He sailed in the Neptune with men and supplies for his colony. " He touched at the Terceras where he was feasted and well used ; but the sickness and death of him and of most of them that landed make it suspected that they had ill measure." " The inquisition, taken at Andover, in the county of Southampton (England), on April 3, (17 Jas. I.), recites, that he died on June 7, 1618." The news of his death reached Virginia in August, and England in October, 1618, casting a great shadow over the colony and Company. John Pory, writing on October 25, 1618, says that he " died in Canada." " Canada " was the name then frequently applied to New England. Purchas (V., 1757) says he died in or near the bay which bears his name.

In the statement of the sums adventured, as audited up to 1620, Lord De la Warr is the largest subscriber on the whole list of over eight hundred, including the leading men and companies of Great Britain. He adventured £500 (forty shares). Besides the shares taken he spent large sums of his own and his wife's fortune in settling his colony, and consequently, at his death left his estates burdened with many debts and only £10 per annum to maintain his wife and seven children : but in consideration of the services rendered by the Governor, King James I. granted his widow a pension of £500 per annum, for thirty-one years, to be paid out of the customs of the Plantation.

From the time Lord De la Warr first undertook the enterprise, he was *determined* to plant and establish a colony in Virginia. When he was appointed Governor it gave the enterprise a new life ; when the ships returned in 1609 " laden with nothing but bad reports and letters of discouragement," it hindered not his resolution. When he reached Virginia and met the wretched colonists abandoning the colony, and saw the heart-breaking state of affairs, leaning on the strong arm of the Almighty, he went most resolutely to work ; when he returned to England " sick and weak," and found so many anxious to give up the undertaking, he was " no whit discouraged," but " was willing to lay all he was worth on the success of his enterprise," and *this, it seems, he did do*. During his administration the encroachments of France and Holland were resisted, almost insurmountable



obstacles and discouragements were overcome, and an English colony was established in a country claimed by Spain. The hopes of the officers in Virginia, and of the Company in England, were realized.

*"He planted an English nation,  
Where none before had stood."*

"For *nine* years together he was indefatigable in doing everything that could tend to the peopling, the support, and the good government of this settlement, and he died in the pursuit of the same object, in his voyage to Virginia, with a large supply of people, cloathing, and goods." But Lord De la Warr did not provide for any history of the colony; and as "The pen is mightier than the sword," his position in history has suffered accordingly—even his name is not always given in the lists of the governors of Virginia. I have nothing to say against most of the daring men who aided in the various preceding ineffectual attempts to plant a permanent colony in Virginia; I only wish to do justice to Lord De la Warr, whose *determination and influence, planted and established the first permanent English colony in the present United States, thereby, at the cost of his fortune and his life, giving us a country which might otherwise have fallen to France, Holland, or Spain.*

#### ALEXANDER BROWN

This sketch is compiled chiefly from the following *Authorities*. Burke's Peerage, etc. (1868), Collins (1768), New England Register (April and July, 1879, etc.), Family and Public Records.

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I have also had reference to most of the available authorities, and have consulted most of the histories of the colonies, of the United States, and of Virginia.

## PLYMOUTH ROCK RESTORED

### II.

The landing of an exploring party of Pilgrim Fathers upon the mainland in the vicinity of Plymouth on December 21, 1620, is an established fact. The exact place of their landing is not so positively known. Original records say nothing whatever in regard to the actual point for which the shallop steered from Clark's Island; "Mourt's Relation" observes very simply, "we sounded the Harbour, and found it a uery good Harbour for our shipping, we marched also into the Land, and found diuers corne fields, and little running brookes, a place very good for scituation." Mr. Sidney Howard Gay, in his critical article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, already mentioned, suggests that any one with a map of Plymouth before him, "will hardly escape the conclusion that the harbor they sounded was the harbor all about them surrounding Clark's Island; that the land they 'marched into' was the nearest mainland right opposite, straight across the harbor—now Duxbury and Kingston." Mr. Gay argues with fairness that men "in a great hurry" would not have gone six miles out of their way, three miles up the harbor to the present site of Plymouth and three miles back, when they could have learned all they wanted to know about the coast by sailing a much shorter distance. This is a very reasonable view, and suggests a candid reconsideration of the grounds of belief in the traditional landing at Plymouth.

One objection to Mr. Gay's view has been briefly stated in connection with the Blaskowitz map [VIII. 800], but it may be more fully stated here. A comparative study of the oldest and newest maps of Plymouth Harbor, with special reference to soundings, aided by a few personal explorations in a sail-boat or in a row-boat around Clark's Island and across the flats toward Duxbury or Kingston, will convince any inquiring mind that the Pilgrim explorers could not have found a good harbor for their shipping on that side of the Bay. The points in favor of the Plymouth side are equally obvious: deeper soundings, better anchorage for the *Mayflower*, and decidedly the best channel leading shoreward. It is a point which has never been sufficiently emphasized in Plymouth history, that the main reason for leaving what to the Pilgrims appeared a goodly and well timbered land at the end of Cape Cod, was not the lack of a good harbor for shipping, for at the

Cape, according to the Pilgrim journal, "1000. saile of Ships may safely ride." It was rather the lack of a good harbor-channel, affording easy passage between ship and shore. The Pilgrim journal says of Cape Cod, "the discommodiousness of the harbour did much hinder vs, for we could neither goe to, nor come from the shore, but at high water, which was much to our hinderance and hurt, for oftentimes they waded to the middle of the thigh, and oft to the knees, to goe and come from the land." Elsewhere the journal says, "We could not come neere the shore by three-quarters of an English mile, because of shallow water, which was a great preiudice to vs." It is not at all probable that the very men who made these observations were in such a hurry as to forget the main object of their explorations which had been continued for an entire month along the Cape Cod coast, or that, out of regard for their own convenience, they should have tossed the plummet only once or twice off Clark's Island and then sailed for the nearest mainland, without a thought of finding the very best ship's channel for the Mayflower, which, with her precious freight of human life, they were preparing to pilot into "a uery good Harbour." The whole question of the superiority of Plymouth over Cape Cod must have turned upon this vital point of easy access to the shore in winter weather, for in all other respects, in extent, depth, good anchorage and good fishing, Cape Cod Harbor far surpassed that of Plymouth. Faithful explorers, as the Pilgrims certainly were, would in all probability have quickly discovered that the main channel of Plymouth Harbor led to the present site of Plymouth.

Another objection to Mr. Gay's view, that "the exploring party did not go within miles of Plymouth Rock," is the fact that their record distinctly says they "found corne fields, and little running brookes, a place very good for scituation," and, accordingly, returned to their ship "with good newes." This form of statement indicates a special discovery. Bradford, in his "History of Plymouth Plantation," says it was a place "fitt for situation . . . ye best they could find." The Pilgrim explorers had a definite object in view, not only in sounding the harbor, but in marching into the land. For a month they had been ranging up and down Cape Cod, trying to find a good site for their village community. Their object was local, not general. On the First Expedition they marched a long distance, but primarily to see if the country was fit "to seate in." Local settlement was plainly the idea in their report of the Second Expedition, wherein they describe "Cornhill" as a place healthful, secure, defensible, with good corn land already cleared, with a convenient harbor for boats, although not for ships; the fresh water, however, was in ponds and would have to "be fetched vp a steepe hill." How definite these observations! These men

had lived in the townships of old England and knew precisely what they wanted in choosing a good site for local settlement. The idea of finding "a farre better seate" and a "good harbour," over against Cape Cod, was the animating purpose of the third and last Expedition, which resulted in finding "a place very good for scituation." The identification of this locality with the site of Plymouth is usually based upon the allusion in "Mourt's Relation" to the "little running brookes," upon the supposition that the Town Brook and the numerous springs of Plymouth are especially meant; but to the mind of the writer this evidence is not so conclusive as the mention of the Indian "corne fields," in connection with the "place very good for scituation." That this was the Indian Mark of Patuxet, a kind of *Corn-hill* like that discovered in Truro, but with better fresh and salt water privileges, is evident from the record of further explorations after the Mayflower had been piloted from Cape Cod harbor into that of Plymouth on December 26, 1620.

Presumptive evidence is strongly in favor of the idea that when the first exploring party from the Mayflower "went a land" in the long-boat, the following Monday, December 28th, they followed the guidance of those who had been there before them, and who, however decided their own views as to the best situation, would naturally wish the approbation of their fellows. The comers "marched along the coast in the woods, some 7 or 8 mile," and the only locality they distinctly mention is a place where formerly "had beene some Inhabitants, and where they had planted their corne." This corn land, this deserted Indian Mark, must have been Patuxet, or the site of Plymouth, for it is a noteworthy fact that the exploration of the side of the Bay toward Kingston and Duxbury did not occur until the day following the visit to the corn land, when, as the journal says, "wee went againe to discover further." This would indicate that attention had not been especially called to the above side, for otherwise explorers from the Mayflower would naturally have gone there in the first instance. The journal says that on Tuesday, December 29th, "some went on Land, and some in the Shallop, the Land we found as the former day we did, and we found a Creeke, and went vp three English myles, a very pleasant river at full Sea, a Barke of thirty tunne may goe vp, but at low water scarce our Shallop could passe." This creek was Jones River, so named in honor of the captain of the Mayflower. The stream flows through the region of Kingston, which was evidently new to the explorers. Their journal says they had a great liking to plant in this place, but they concluded it was too far from their fishing, "our principall profit," and, moreover, it was too densely wooded and too much exposed to attack from

the Indians. There was "so much land to cleare" in that quarter that they "thought good to quit and cleare" out. Some proposed that they should settle upon Clark's Island for greater safety; so they crossed over and examined the place more critically than the original explorers appear to have done. But this tract also was too densely wooded, and there was no good supply of fresh water. It is important to observe that here also, as on Jones River, the difficulty of clearing sufficient corn land was recognized by the explorers. But some were very favorably inclined toward Clark's Island, because it was so defensible.

On Wednesday, December 30th, the question of choosing a site for an English town appears to have been narrowed down to "two places." One was probably Clark's Island, for they finally determined "by most voyces, to set on the *maine Land*, on the first place, on an high ground, where there is a great deale of Land cleared, and hath beene planted with Corne three or four yeares agoe, and there is a very sweet brooke runnes vnder the hill side, and many delicate springs of as good water as can be drunke, and where we may harbour our Shallops and Boates exceeding well, and in this brooke much good fish in their seasons: on the further side of the river also much Corne ground cleared, in one field is a great hill, on which wee poynt to make a platforme, and plant our Ordinance, which will command all round about, from thence we may see into the *Bay*, and far into the Sea, and we may see thence *Cape Cod*." This commanding site, this tract of cleared land, well-watered but high and dry, healthful and defensible, was the place chosen by the sovereign will of a majority, by Englishmen voting, in open air, to found an English Town upon an Indian Mark.<sup>1</sup> This was the laying of the corner-stone of Local Self Government in New England. It was the foundation of the Town of Plymouth. It was "*on the first place*," on high ground, on cleared land, unmistakably the original "place very good for scituation."

But did the Pilgrim Fathers actually land upon Plymouth Rock? That is a question. Under ordinary circumstances, seafaring men do not steer

<sup>1</sup> Some idea of the extent of the cleared land in this old Indian Mark of Patuxet may perhaps be gathered from the statement in the journal that "our greatest labour will be fetching of our wood, which is halfe a quarter of an Egglish myle, but there is enough so farre off!" Neither the Black Forest nor the Odenwald could furnish a better picture of a Teutonic Village with a setting of woodland, than does Mourt's Relation in describing Plymouth. But this is not an isolated example of an English Town settling itself comfortably upon Indian corn-fields. Salem, Charlestown, Dorchester, Boston, and a host of others, did precisely the same thing. The relation of English local colonization to old Indian localities in America would form a very interesting study. The first clearings were almost everywhere made by Indian squaws, girdling trees with stone axes and afterward burning the dead timber, a most efficient method for pioneers.



their boat toward rocks. But, in some respect, the landing at Plymouth was peculiar. The inner coast is not at all "stern and rock-bound." Plymouth Rock, itself a Pilgrim and a stranger, lay upon a tranquil and sandy shore, within a natural breakwater or outer beach, upon which the surf breaks. Under such circumstances, it would not only be entirely safe but highly convenient for the explorers, coming in the shallop or in the long-boat, to steer alongside a massive boulder, jutting out into the water, a boulder with a flat top, once about nine feet square, and most admirably suited for a natural wharf. Plymouth Rock was the only rock along that low-lying, sandy shore, and it would naturally have caught the steersman's

John Brewster  
William Brewster

John Weyl

Thomas Cuyler

William Brewster

John Deane

Myles Standish

Isaac Allerton

John Bradford

Constant Southworth

William Bradford

Thomas Southworth

PILGRIM AUTOGRAPHS.

eye, as the shallop or long-boat came up the channel. There was in all probability no better place to land at any point on the Plymouth shore than upon this projecting and conspicuous rock, at the foot of "high ground," which of itself alone would have attracted the first explorers of the channel. Presumptive evidence is strongly in favor of the rock as a convenient and practicable landing-place for men coming in December weather, with colds and coughs, and with the experience of Provincetown behind them. They would very naturally seek to get ashore dry-shod. Natural inclination, under such circumstances, would set toward the best landing-place which nature afforded. The harbor current leads up to Plymouth and the stream of local tradition is as clear as the Town Brook. Such existing evidence cannot be disputed in any off-hand way. Considering the premises and the

local tradition, the balance of probability is strongly in favor, not only of a first landing on or near Plymouth Rock, December 21, 1620, but of subsequent and repeated landings. It would of course be unreasonable to suppose that every time the Pilgrims came ashore, in their first explorations which ranged along the coast for several miles, they made Plymouth Rock a stepping-stone; but the writer is strongly inclined to believe that this vicinity was not only the original landing-place upon the main-land, but that it became a regular and general landing-place, a kind of natural wharf for boats passing to and fro between ship and shore. His ground for this view is the argument from "survival," from the solid, long-enduring, highly significant fact that Plymouth Rock is to this day imbedded in a good, substantial wharf, constructed as early as 1741, and from the very fact of its then construction affording presumptive evidence that the locality was previously and always a good landing-place. The wharf, the tradition, and the harbor-current connect not only the Rock and the shallop, but the Rock and the Mayflower. In the light of Plymouth-Rock-Landing, all other traditions, even those about Mary Chilton and John Alden, and about a landing of men, women, and little children upon "the ice-clad Rock," can all stand together for what they are worth.

But the idea of any general disembarkation of the Mayflower's company at any one time must be given up. Whatever tradition may say, students of original sources of Plymouth history, sources antedating all traditions, know that there never was and never could have been any such landing, under the circumstances of an unbuilt town, of grievous sickness, of winter's cold, of the existence of convenient shelter on board the Mayflower, anchored in Plymouth Harbor all winter. Common humanity and common sense forbid any such interpretation of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers as would lead to the inevitable exposure of women and children to unnecessary hardship and suffering. The only landings at first spoken of in "Mourt's Relation," "written," says Dr. Dexter, "from day to day, on the ground," are the landings of able-bodied men who explore the country by day and return on ship-board at night. After deciding where they would settle and build their "Towne," the same practice of going to and fro between ship and shore continued for weeks, although there was a "Rande-vous," a bivouac or "court of gard," on shore dating from December 30th, when it was determined in open air Town Meeting, "by most voyces," where to build the Town itself. On December 31st, the journal says, "it was stormie and wett, that we could not goe ashore, and those that remained there all night could doe nothing, but were wett, not having daylight enough to make them a sufficient court of gard, to keep them dry."

But the "gard" itself, the "watch," a martial survival, reinstituted by Captain Standish around nightly camp-fires upon Cape Cod, never left its post even in the foulest weather, after the idea of an English Town had been rekindled on shore, where a "Randevoos was established, and a place for some of our people, about twentie." On January 1st, "the storme still continued, that we could not get a-land, nor they come to vs aboard; this morning Goodwife Alderton was delivered of a sonne, but dead borne." Does any fair-minded man really believe that three days later, on January 4th, in midwinter, this good woman, with her female friends and all their children, were taken out in the long-boat or the shallop and landed upon Plymouth Rock to stay all day, or to picnic in the woods, and then, at nightfall, to return with the Pilgrim Fathers, who certainly "came aboard againe" that evening, all except twenty who staid "to keepe the court of gard." Yet Mr. Gay says, "all on that day landed upon the Rock;" "on this day, for the first time, the women seem to have left the ship at Plymouth." Mr. Gay believes that the traditions perpetuated by Elder Faunce and by the families of John Alden and Mary Chilton point to a general landing upon some particular day, for he says, "There certainly was a day when all the passengers of the Mayflower left the ship, and landed upon Plymouth Rock." He finds chronological support for these assertions in the following passage from "Mourt's Relation," which probably applies only to able-bodied men, and not at all to the women and children: "Munday the 25. day [Jan. 4] we went on shore, some to saw, some to rive, and some to carry, so no man rested all that day;" but it is important to notice that all except twenty returned to the ship that night.

The whole truth about the landing at Plymouth may be summed up in few words: the landing was general but *gradual*. There was no particular day when all the passengers disembarked. Some went at one time and some at another, and doubtless there was a constant returning to the ship throughout the entire winter. For days at a time during stormy weather men staid on board. When the thatch of the Common House, the "generall randevoze," was burned on January 24th, Bradford says, "some were faine to retire aboard for shilter." Bradford speaks of "schuch of ye passengers as were yet aboard," who showed kindness to the sailors who in their turn fell sick with the scurvy. "Mourt's Relation" for February 14, 1621, says that day was "very wett and rainie" and "though we rid in a very good harbour, yet we were in danger, because our ship was light, the goods taken out and she vnballasted." The long-boat and the shallop brought the "common goods" on shore February 8th, but individuals remained, and of course their personal effects remained with them. In fact there is posi-

tive evidence that disembarkation from the Mayflower was not completed until March 31, 1621, "Wednesday, a fine warme day,—this day with much adoe we got our Carpenter that had beene long sicke of the scurvey, to fit our Shallop to fetch all from aboard."

There is no satisfactory evidence that Plymouth Rock was ever the object of general veneration before the time of the American Revolution, when it was first "dug up" from the sands of Time by a "grateful Posterity." On the contrary, it would appear that Posterity itself had formerly lent a helping hand to Father Time in burying the Rock from public notice; for, in spite of the earnest protestations of Elder Faunce in 1741,—who, aged ninety-five, was apparently the only man cherishing any authentic tradition of the landing of the Pilgrims—in spite of his tears, be it noted, the utilitarian sons of the Fathers persisted in building a wharf of sand and earth upon "the soil where first they trod," and there the wharf actually remains to this day, with what is left of Plymouth Rock raised high and dry above its former water level. The soil may be called "holy ground," but it is *made* ground. It is, however, folly to condemn people for lack or excess of sentiment. History must take men as they are. As a matter of fact, this wharf, built all around Plymouth Rock by men of good judgment and common sense, however uncultivated their emotional nature, is the very best historical evidence for believing that the locality was always a good landing-place. The endurance of the wharf to this day and the reluctance of the present owners to give it up for purposes of aesthetic restoration is a most solid and convincing argument from "survival" that the ancestors of "grateful Posterity" regarded Plymouth Rock landing in a very utilitarian light. The wharf supports the tradition: and the tradition dignifies the wharf with historic meaning.

In raising from its sandy bed that granite boulder, brought from afar by some giant iceberg or some glacier to that low-lying, rockless coast, where it proved perhaps a convenient stepping-stone and a general landing-place for our English forefathers, landing in boats from an English ship, which sailed from Plymouth in Old England to Plymouth in New England—in raising this rock of prehistoric ages, the revolutionary townsmen, by their disturbing force, cleft it horizontally in twain. But they hailed the disruption as a favorable omen of separation from England. The lower portion of their Fathers' Rock they let fall into Mother Earth, into fancied oblivion, but the upper portion, representing no longer connection with Mother Country and a world-uniting sea, though typifying the idea of local independence, was dragged by twenty yoke of oxen, guided by a triumphal procession, into the market-place of New Plymouth, where it was made to

support an American liberty-pole, upon which were affixed the following patriotic verses by a local bard :

“ To wake the sons of Plymouth to oppose  
The daring insults of our country's foes,  
This monumental pole erected stands,  
Raised by a few, but patriotic hands :  
Friends to their country and their country's right,  
In which truth, honor, justice, all unite.  
For these our famed forefathers firmly stood,  
And purchased freedom with heroic blood.  
Let not their sons desert the glorious cause,  
But still maintain our Liberty and Laws.  
Nor from what's right and just like cowards fly ;  
We'll rise like heroes, or like heroes die ! ”

It was a memorable event in the local annals of Plymouth, an event worthy of special note upon the margin of a British map of the Plymouth coast when, in 1775, the “large rock” upon which the Pilgrims landed was “transported to a more public situation,” to the Town Square, that village forum where the Revolutionary spirit was locally kindled long before the patriotic flame had caught the nation. The American Revolution brought the buried rock and a slumbering tradition to historic life and light. Dr. James Thacher, who served as surgeon in the Continental army throughout the struggle for independence, says : “ The citizens of Plymouth, animated by the spirit of liberty which pervaded the province, and mindful of the precious relic of our forefathers, resolved to consecrate the rock on which they landed to the shrine of liberty.” But without the moving spirit of independence, Plymouth Rock, which had hitherto been “buried in sand,” would never have been raised from its gross and material surroundings to be a worthy votive-offering, typifying an immortal idea. The stone which the wharf-builders rejected became the corner-stone of a nation. For New Plymouth, for New England, and for the whole country, this severed fragment of Plymouth Rock came in due time to represent the idea of American independence, past, present, and future. The removal of the Rock was itself a local declaration of independence in 1775. And the local spirit became national. At a Plymouth Town Meeting, held May 21, 1776, the townsmen agreed upon the following instructions to the Honorable James Warren and Isaac Lothrop, Esq., their representatives : “ That you, without hesitation, be ready to declare for independence of Great Britain, in whom no confidence can be placed, provided the Honorable, the Continental Congress shall think that measure necessary ; and we, for our parts, do assure you that we will stand by the determination of the Continental



Congress in this important and, as we think, very necessary measure, at the risk of our lives and fortunes." Thus the declaration of 1775 passed into the spirit of 1776, when, in a single day, a great nation upon the Atlantic seaboard was raised into independent life.

The spirit of English liberty which raised Plymouth Rock from its ignoble grave to be the head of the corner in the upbuilding of American local independence, is to be sought deep down in American local history. As specimens of the rich historic ore that can be discovered by mere surface mining in the town records of Plymouth, the following may suffice in a somewhat reduced form:

*Resolved*, January 29, 1730, That the sum of fifty pounds be raised to support the charge of our agency in England, in the defence of our privileges.—Voted unanimously in 1754, that the Excise Bill is disagreeable to the Town, as it appears unequal and unjust, and has a direct tendency to destroy the natural rights and privileges of every individual in the Government, and that Thomas Foster, Esq., Representative for the said Town of Plymouth, be and hereby is instructed, at the next session of the General Court and at all times after, to use all possible and proper means to prevent the said Excise Bill from passing into a Law.—At a Town Meeting assembled and held at the Court House in Plymouth, Monday, the 14th day of October, Anno Domini, 1765 [the year of the Stamp Act] James Warren was chosen Moderator, and sworn. A vote was called whether the Town would give instructions to their Representatives how to act at the Great and General Court in the present critical juncture of affairs, more especially in what is relative to the Stamp Act. Passed in the affirmative unanimously.

Instructions to Thomas Foster, Esq., Representative of the Town of Plymouth, were presented at an adjourned meeting, October 21, 1765, and accepted unanimously. You, Sir, represent a people who are not only descended from the first settlers of this country, but inhabit the very spot they first possessed. Here was laid the foundation of the British Empire in this part of America, which from a very small beginning has increased and spread in a manner very surprising and almost incredible, especially when we consider that all this has been effected without the aid or assistance of any power on earth. That we have defended, protected, and secured ourselves against the invasions and cruelty of savages, and the subtlety and inhumanity of our inveterate and natural enemies the French, and all this without the appropriation of any tax by Stamps or Stamp Acts laid upon our fellow subjects, in any part of the King's dominions. This place, Sir, was at first the asylum of Liberty, and we hope will ever be preserved sacred to it. Though it was then no more than a forlorn wilderness, inhabited only by savage men and beasts, to this place our Fathers, whose memories be revered, fled to enjoy these privileges to which they had an undoubted right, but were deprived of by the hands of violence and oppression in their native country. We, Sir, their posterity, the freeholders and other inhabitants of this Town, legally assembled, possessed of the same sentiments and retaining the same ardor for liberty, think it our indispensable duty on this occasion to express to you our sentiments of the Stamp Act and its future consequences to this country, and to enjoin it upon you, as you regard not only the welfare but the very being of this people, that you, consistent with our allegiance to the Government of Great Britain [N. B.] exert all your powers and influence to oppose the execution of the Stamp Act, at least until we hear the success of our petition for relief. We have at all times an abhorrence of tumults and disorders. We think ourselves happy in having good and wholesome laws sufficient to preserve the peace of the province unless provoked by some imprudent measures.

The law-abiding spirit of a liberty-loving people! Here is something

deeper, more fundamental in American history than even Plymouth Rock and the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. Here is the same underlying spirit which made men who had fled from English tyranny declare themselves "loyal Subjects of our dread sovereign Lord King James," and frame a compact, equal laws, ordinances, acts, and constitutions, the very idea of each and all of which was based upon the common law of England. All this and the American Revolution were but the outcropping of that old red sandstone of Germanic self-government which underlies all dividing seas between Germany, England, and New England. Our people simply reasserted old Saxon right and might to tax and rule themselves by customary law, the right which Hermann and the Cherusicans asserted manfully against the tax-gatherers and legions of Rome; the right which Widukind and the heathen Saxons reasserted against Charles the Great and his advancing bishops; the right which Luther and the German princes declared against the Church of Rome; the right which William of Orange and the Netherlands maintained against the power of Spain; the right declared by John Hampden and the English people against the Crown; the sacred right of Liberty, which makes reformations and revolutions possible.

It was this old historic spirit of Liberty which moved the American people and the townsmen of Plymouth. The Declaration of Independence and the removal of Plymouth Rock were only surface upheavals caused by underlying historic forces. Just as Nature, by the operation of her own laws restores, in some measure, the disruptions of earth caused by the earthquake and the volcano, so History, by a healing principle within itself, restores the damaging effects of revolution and reformation without losing their healthful results. But the restoration of Plymouth Rock was not accomplished in a day. For nearly two generations, from 1775 until 1834, the sundered fragment of the Rock was left in the market-place of that ancient "Towne," built, as the original record says, "with two rowes of houses and a faire streete." Here in the Town Square, itself an historic survival, for the name, like that of Plymouth, was taken from Old England, here in the very midst of Old English local institutions, the Town House, the Market, and the Parish Church, this symbol of disruption continued for nearly sixty years to assert ideas of historic separation and local independence for Pilgrim Fathers and Sons. These ideas gained massive strength by the accretions of time and tradition, of memorial sermon and public oration, local pride, New England reverence, and national respect. Pilgrims from all parts of the country, from the Old World as well as from the New, came with staff and scrip to Plymouth Rock and Burial Hill as to a Holy Sepulchre. Generation after generation of men, women, and children stood

upon the Rock and fancied they were landing there like Pilgrims from the Mayflower. The effect of all this upon the popular imagination is beyond estimate.

Meantime the sons of the Pilgrims increased and multiplied. They were scattered throughout New England, and they were migrating westward with the great Aryan race of which they were but a single Teutonic clan. In all American history there is perhaps no better example of the perpetuity of clannish ideas than may be seen among descendants of the Pilgrims and their admiring children by adoption. The Pilgrim Society, now numbering something over fifteen thousand members, represents the present organization of this growing clan, which has various offshoots in the New England societies of our larger cities, where Forefathers' Day, or the feast of the Pilgrims' Passover, is the day they celebrate. The tribes of Israel were not more firmly bound together in the traditions of their escape, with their first born, from Egypt and their passage of the Red Sea, than are New England men in the traditions of their Fathers and of Plymouth Rock. To be descended from, or to be associated with, whether by marriage or adoption, even remote kindred of those who came over in the Mayflower, is, for a New England man, as great an honor as for an Englishman to be able to trace his lineage to those who came over with William the Conqueror, or to those who sailed the seas with a Saxon pirate.

The historic germ of the Pilgrim Society was no doubt the Old Colony Club, formed as early as 1769, by Plymouth people, who, on the 22d of December of that year, in Old Colony Hall, first celebrated "the landing of their worthy ancestors." They began the celebration very properly and in good old Teutonic fashion by a preliminary feast in a tavern, upon the very spot where the first licensed public-house was erected. Feasts and taverns, by the way, are good connecting-links between Old England and New England, and it is curious to note that just above Plymouth Rock to-day stands "Plymouth Rock Hotel." It is perhaps not generally known that the immediate occasion of the Pilgrims' landing and settling at Plymouth was the fact of their "victuals being much spent, especially our Beere." The Old Colony Club, wishing to avoid "all appearance of luxury and extravagance—in imitation of our ancestors," took for their first dinner "a large baked Indian whortleberry pudding, a dish of succotash, a dish of clams, a dish of oysters and a dish of codfish, a haunch of venison, a dish of sea-fowl, a dish of frost-fish and eels, an apple pie, a course of cranberry tarts, and a cheese made in the Old Colony." Upon such a substantial basis, New England societies and Pilgrim celebrations have been built up. The Pilgrim Society, which is but a national form of the Old Colony Club, was organized

in 1820, "to commemorate and to honor the memory of those intrepid men who first stepped on Plymouth Rock." Of course the Society is made up of "lineal descendants" of the Pilgrims and of others who hold "their memory in respect and honor." The objects of the association, besides the celebration of Forefathers' Day, are to perpetuate the memory of the Pilgrims "by durable monuments to be erected at Plymouth."

The corner-stone of Pilgrim Hall was laid in 1824. Ten years later, on the 4th of July, Plymouth Rock was removed to a conspicuous place in front of this memorial building, this museum of Pilgrim relics, this Caaba of Plymouth. Although removed still farther in distance from its original bed, Plymouth Rock was now on its way back toward the world-uniting sea. A symbol of disruption, it had long stood in the market-place of the village at the foot of an American liberty-pole. It was a step backward toward historic unity when Plymouth Rock was taken from the forum of independence and relegated to an historical museum of antiquities, many of which were believed to have been brought over in the Mayflower. It imparted an archæological interest to Plymouth Rock to find it associated with such old world curiosities as the sword of Captain Miles Standish, who before he fought in Flanders against the Spaniard, had fought in South-eastern Europe against the Turk, and who there perhaps wrested from some infidel this blade of Oriental workmanship, with its mysterious double inscription, which no man could decipher, nay, not the most learned of Pilgrim Sons, who went with it to the German University of Göttingen and puzzled all the scholars there, and afterward to Berlin, the world's centre of learning, where the great Baron von Humboldt was unable to translate it. There was but one intelligible thing upon the sword-blade, the Arabic figures 1149, which might perhaps indicate that it had belonged to the time of the second Crusade and had changed hands once before. The decipherment of the inscription was reserved for a wandering Jew, a native of Palestine, James Rosendale (the name is cosmopolitan, English, German, Jewish), who lately travelled through this country with a party of Arabs, and made a pilgrimage to Plymouth, just as Christians used to go on pilgrimages to Jerusalem, or as Mohammedans still journey to Mecca. The Jew said, and the Arabs agreed, that one of the inscriptions was in mediæval Arabic, which he readily translated, "With peace God ruled his slaves and with the judgment of his arm he troubled the mighty of the wicked and the evil of the wicked." This sentiment, the latter portion of which is especially applicable to the modern Turk, is said to be a common one upon Arabian arms. The other inscription the Jew said was in Cufic Arabic—in the archaic characters of Cufa, in the province of Bagdad—which he could not

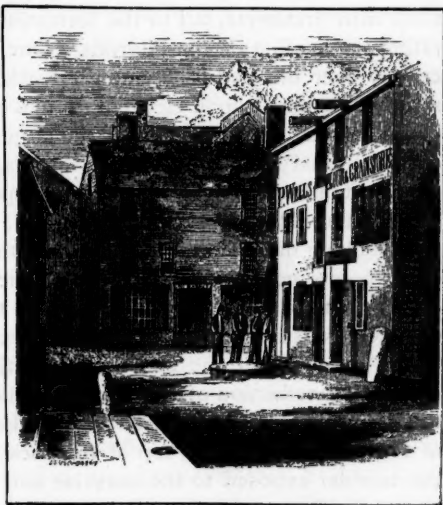
translate, but which he copied for further study. He believed the second inscription synonymous with the first, just as the three records upon the Rosetta Stone, in Greek, Demotic, and Hieroglyphic, mean the same thing. This Cufic inscription upon the favorite sword of Captain Miles Standish, the strong right arm of defence for Plymouth Colony, would carry a reflecting mind back to a time earlier than King Richard and the Norman Crusaders, earlier than Haroun al Raschid and the rise of the Saracen power. Plymouth Rock and the Caaba of Mecca are after all not so far apart.

Of course early visitors to Pilgrim Hall did not know or care for this, but they wondered all the same over that Oriental cimeter, with its curved blade and unintelligible inscription on each side, suggesting that Miles Standish had been in far-off lands and had fought in old wars. Then, too, visitors gazed with interest upon the patriarchal arm-chairs of Elder Brewster and Governor Carver; they turned with curiosity the pages of books written by John Robinson or printed by Elder Brewster in Leyden, and reflected with some pride that the leaders of the Pilgrims had the learning and arts of their time, that they vied with the scholars of Holland in disputation and in the use of the printing-press. But their handwriting was Old English. Their deeds and parchments were drawn up after Old English forms. There was a portrait of Edward Winslow, the original of which was painted in London in 1651, after his final return to his mother country, where he became one of the commissioners of Oliver Cromwell. There were also other Winslow portraits,—“a very reputable family,” wrote Governor Hutchinson; “very handsomely dressed,” plain people would say. Evidently the Pilgrims and their descendants were as fine folk as any of their class in Old England. And clearly they were not behind their age in the matter of household art. It matters little whether or not all those domestic articles came over in the Mayflower; the types and patterns are for the most part Old English. Look at the knives and forks, the dishes and pewter plates, the pots and kettles, the cradles, clocks, and spinning-wheels, and the sampler wrought by the daughter of Captain Miles Standish. There is an unwritten and suggestive chapter of history in such specimens of household art. The commonest utensils, domestic or agricultural, are as truly connecting links with the past as the survival in common English speech of such homely Keltic words as *dad*, *lad*, *lass*, *babe*, *clout*, *button*, *flannel*, *gown*, *gusset*, *darn*, *mop*, *crock*, *griddle* (seen in *grid*-iron as well as in *griddle*-cakes), *gruel*, *bran*, *basket*, *flask*, *kiln*, *mattock*, *welt*, *rail*, *tackle*, *mesh*, *barrow*, and other familiar terms, showing that the early Britons were not utterly “exterminated” by the invading Saxons. Without realizing, perhaps, the full historic significance of the articles of furniture



and everyday use which came over in the Mayflower and the ships that followed her to New England, visitors of Pilgrim Hall have been reading for many years the Pilgrim story as told by object-lessons, just as, throughout the entire period of the middle ages, the Biblical story, from creation down, was told by pictures upon the walls of churches.

Pictorial art has played a most important rôle in quickening the historical imagination of visitors to Pilgrim Hall. The very year Plymouth Rock was removed from the Town Square to the front of this historical museum, Henry Sergeant, of Boston, generously presented to the Pilgrim Society his great picture, thirteen by sixteen feet, representing the traditional idea of the landing of men, women, and children in midwinter upon the "ice-clad rock of Plymouth." This and other graphic, though somewhat spectacular representations carried the fancy of every beholder back to the shore of the sea. With fancy quickened by the aid of art, and by the sight of the original manuscript of Mrs. Hemans' ode on the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, the modern Pilgrim turned with renewed interest, as he left Pilgrim Hall, to the contemplation of its historic corner-stone. Plymouth Rock was not built into the wall of Pilgrim Hall as the black stone which the angel Gabriel brought to Abraham is built into the wall of the Caaba at Mecca. Plymouth Rock used to lie upon the ground, in front of the steps leading to the Hall. The sacred relic was inclosed within a heavy railing of upright iron bars, the tops of which were made to resemble boat-hooks and harpoons, presumably in commemoration of Plymouth fisheries. Around the bars hung a funereal festoon of cast-iron drapery, bearing the names of the forty-one men who signed the Pilgrims' Compact in Cape Cod Harbor. Provincetown and Plymouth were thus linked together, but why was the rock divided—why was it separated from the place where the Pilgrims landed? The modern Pilgrim, musing upon the strange displacement of an historic monument from its historic



PLYMOUTH ROCK AS IT WAS.

base, invariably wandered down to the shore of the sea and tried to plant his feet upon the place where the top of the Rock ought to have been.

The Pilgrim Society, moved by the growing interest in the original basis of Plymouth Rock and in the spot where the Pilgrims actually landed, resolved, in the year 1850, "that it is expedient to erect a monument upon or near the rock on which the Pilgrims landed, and to make other improvements in its vicinity." Although it had been the intention of the Pilgrim Society, from its very organization in 1820, to erect a monument to the memory of the Pilgrims, yet, until this vote in 1850, no active, definite measures were taken to that end, beyond the erection of Pilgrim Hall and the collection of Pilgrim relics. The above vote, after protracted negotiations with architects, led to the formation of a double plan for commemorating the landing of the Pilgrims. One plan for the erection of a granite canopy over the bed of Plymouth Rock, and the other for a larger, more sightly monument upon elevated ground overlooking the Bay and the scene of the original landing. Out of the larger plan grew the idea of the present "National Monument to the Pilgrims," with its colossal statue of Faith, which, standing upon a Rock and supported by four allegorical figures representing Morality, Law, Education, and Freedom, will stand for all time looking out over shore and sea, with the Bible in one hand while the other points heavenward, like the classic statue of Vesta. The National corner-stone to the National Monument to the Pilgrims, which is not yet complete, was laid in 1859. The same year was laid the foundation-stones of the canopy over the bed of Plymouth Rock, which foundations necessitated the reduction of the rock to smaller size, so as to accommodate the canopy; but the fragments were broken up and sold for relics. Instead of restoring at once the top of the rock to its own rock-bed, and leaving the boulder exposed to the sunshine and rain, to which it had been accustomed for thousands of years before the forefathers of the Pilgrims landed in Britain, the Pilgrim Society allowed the construction of this colossal, pretentious canopy of granite, which overshadows the Rock itself; of this baldacchino, which reminds the beholder of the canopy over the altar of St. Peter's; of this mausoleum, under the leaky roof of which now lie Pilgrim bones, taken from the kindly shelter of mother earth upon Cole's Hill, to which some day they will probably be returned, just as Plymouth Rock has been restored to its original bed.

The idea of restoring Plymouth Rock developed very naturally in the mind of Mr. J. Henry Stickney,<sup>1</sup> of Baltimore, from the success of his res-

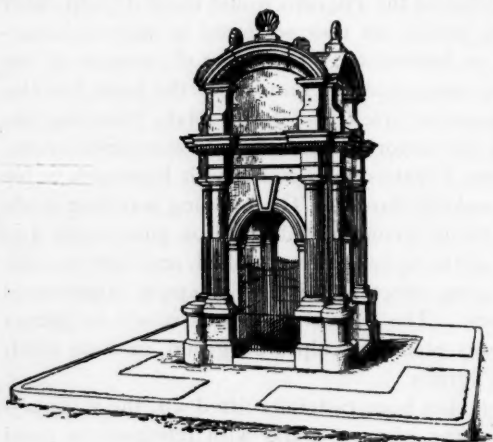
<sup>1</sup>Mr. J. Henry Stickney is the descendant of William and Elizabeth Stickney, who came from Stickney, Lincolnshire, among the earliest colonists of Boston, where, according to the records, they

tations of Pilgrim Hall. This gentleman, a native of Massachusetts, but not of Plymouth, is an earnest admirer of the Pilgrim Fathers and a member of the Pilgrim Society. He early contributed to the National Monument, but became more especially interested in the historical antiquities of Plymouth through occasional business visits to the town; for at one time he carried on an extensive iron-trade with a well-known Plymouth firm, and many cargoes of coal and of iron from the Baltimore furnaces were landed at that port in the vicinity of Plymouth Rock. Mr. Stickney long ago noticed the insecurity of Pilgrim Hall, the repository of so many valuable Pilgrim relics, which, if destroyed by fire, would be an irreparable loss to Plymouth and to the country. It occurred to him, moreover, that if this building were made fire-proof, descendants of the Pilgrims would there deposit other memorials of historic interest, which are now scattered in various households, and exposed to injury or destruction. Obtaining the consent of the Pilgrim Society, Mr. Stickney suggested the removal of the local Circulating Library, which had ensconced itself in Pilgrim Hall, crowding the books of Elder Brewster and the historical museum into contracted space, besides inconveniencing modern Pilgrims, who do not visit Plymouth to see the latest novel or the novel-seeking throng. The building was then made fire-proof, the floors and roof being reconstructed with iron girders and Tiel blocks. The window-spaces of the upper hall were filled, and light was admitted from above, with pleasing effect in this Doric temple consecrated to the antiquities of Plymouth. The Doric porch was raised to proper height, and in the pediment was placed a sculptured group, in demi-relief, representing the Landing of Pilgrims.

The interior of the building has been tastefully fitted up, the walls colored with Pompeian red, and the pictures hung with reference to good light and their relative value for historical purposes. The old pictures have been cleaned, their frames retouched, and new portraits of the Winslow family have been added. The original Winslow portrait has been forwarded to Plymouth by the Massachusetts Historical Society. The relics themselves have been carefully classified. Those illustrating Pilgrim history have been retained in the main room of the museum, together with the pictures, but miscellaneous articles relating to other subjects have been relegated to the basement or lower hall. Pilgrim relics have been arranged in glass cases, and, to a certain extent, by groups; for example, the Standish, Alden, Winslow, and White families have each their own case. In one of

were members of the First Church in 1637. Mr. Stickney, of Baltimore, was born in West Brookfield, Mass. He received his early training in the Hopkins Academy at Hadley, and his business education in Boston. He removed to Baltimore in 1834, where he engaged in the iron business.

the ante-rooms, the Library of the Pilgrim Society has been gathered together. Pilgrim Hall restored represents for Plymouth an historical renaissance. In the words of the *Old Colony Memorial*, December 2, 1880: "A new era has thus commenced in the history of Pilgrim Hall, the results of which will make it one of the most interesting museums in the country, as year by year its attractions are increased. The Old Colony is full of antique articles which belong to the Pilgrim or Revolutionary era, and now that, by Mr. Stickney's great liberality, a place has been provided where they may be safely stored, there is but little doubt that the collections will receive numerous and valuable additions, and Pilgrim Hall become one of the most attractive spots to visitors to these Pilgrim scenes." Some idea



ROCK AND CANOPY.

of the present popularity of this historical museum may be derived from the fact that during the past year Pilgrim Hall had thirty-five thousand visitors.

The removal of Plymouth Rock in the year 1880 from the front of Pilgrim Hall to its old and proper place by the sea was, in one sense, the completion of the work of restoration which Mr. Stickney has quietly accomplished in connection with Pilgrim Hall. That work consisted mainly in putting

things in their right places and in laying for the whole museum a solid and enduring basis. But, in another sense, this restoration of Plymouth Rock represents the laying of a new corner-stone in Plymouth history. It represents deeper foundations than those of Pilgrim Hall or of Revolutionary Plymouth, and it stands for the upbuilding of local history upon the basis of a past which antedates the spirit of disruption, asserted in 1775 by the Town, and in 1776 by the United States. A new era of historical restoration has begun for Plymouth and the Pilgrim Fathers, not an era of destructive criticism, but an era of constructive truth built upon foundations of historic fact, good judgment, good taste, and the common sense of most. And, from a material point of view, the restoration of Plymouth Rock represents the beginning of a new series of restorations and

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5000

local improvements, to which Mr. Stickney's generous example has given a decided impulse. By his aid the unsightly wharf will probably be purchased, and will then be levelled to the sea. The environment of Plymouth Rock is to be made a thing of beauty and a joy forever. It is to be hoped that the Canopy which now overshadows the Rock may at some time be removed to Cole's Hill, where it will serve for a monument, if such a thing is desirable. Mr. Stickney has also purchased houses and land adjoining Cole's Hill, so that the oldest known English burying-ground in New England will soon become one of the best of Plymouth monuments. It will be made a sightly terrace looking down upon the Rock and out upon the high sea, commemorating the Pilgrim choice of "an high ground, where there is a great deal of land cleared," and where some day perhaps Pilgrim bones will be restored to their mother earth.

Public sentiment, which in the last century recognized the propriety of digging up Plymouth Rock from its grave of sand and transporting the emblem to a more public situation, now generally recognizes the propriety of restoring the Rock to its old place. Years ago, Mr. William S. Russell, in his "Pilgrim Memorials," said of the Rock, "we trust it will, at no distant day, be once more transported and reunited to its kindred stock." Mr. Stickney never saw this passage until long after the restoration of the Rock, but Mr. Russell's words illustrate the spontaneous change in local sentiment since 1834, when it was thought quite proper to place the Rock in front of Pilgrim Hall. The work of restoration is now advancing at Plymouth in various ways. A local committee of the Pilgrim Society, upon the authority of that body, has recommended to the Town Fathers "the more general use of Pilgrim names or names of local history, in the nomenclature of the streets." Mr. William T. Davis has been investigating for several years the "Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth," and his results, first printed in the *Plymouth Free Press*, were some time since announced in book-form by a Boston publisher. The "Plymouth Reminiscences" and "Ancient Records of Plymouth," printed in the *Old Colony Memorial*, by Mr. William T. Hollis, are also valuable contributions to local history, consisting largely of extracts from the unpublished Town Records of Plymouth, in which the writer himself has delved. Work upon the National Monument to the Forefathers is progressing slowly but surely toward completion, like the Washington Monument and the finished Cathedral of Cologne. The corner-statue of "Education," at the base of the central shaft has just been erected, together with a *bas-relief* upon its pedestal, representing the Pilgrims signing the Compact. This contribution to the monument is due to the generosity of Mr. Roland Mather, of Hartford,



Conn. The corner-statue representing "Morality" was presented by the State of Massachusetts, and the *bas-relief* below, picturing the "Embarkation of the Pilgrims," was given by the State of Connecticut. The colossal statue of "Faith," which rises above these lower figures, was the gift of the Ames family. Two other corner-statues, "Law" and "Freedom," are yet to be placed at the foot of the central shaft or main pedestal.

Improvement is noticeable from year to year upon Burial or Burying Hill, the highest of "high ground" in historic Plymouth, the old Fort Hill, which represents the same idea as the Hill Forts of Greek and Roman cities, or as the castled heights and citadels of mediæval towns. Here in the summer of 1622, having learned of the terrible massacre of four hundred persons "in ye south collonie of Virginia," the Pilgrims "builte a fort with good timber, both strong & comely, which was of good defence, made with a flate rofe & batllments, on which their ordnance were mounted, and wher they kepte constante watch, espetially in time of danger. It served them allso for a meeting house, and was fitted accordingly for that use." Here is the place where the National Monument to the Forefathers should have been erected, for this is indeed "holy ground." Up this hill, to worship God, the Pilgrims used to march three abreast, having assembled at beat of drum "in front of the captain's door," each man with his musket, and all "led by a sergeant without beat of drum, behind comes the Governor, in a long robe; beside him on the right hand comes the preacher with his cloak on, and on the left the captain with his side-arms and cloak on, and with a small cane in his hand; and so they march in good order, and each man sets his arms down near him."

This account of how the Pilgrims ascended that Holy Hill was written by Isaack de Rasieres, the diplomatic agent of the Dutch settled in New Netherlands, whom Bradford describes as "a man of fair and genteel behavior," who visited Plymouth in 1627. He came "with a noyse of trumpeters, and some other attendants." Just as his own description of Pilgrim church-going represents the continuity at Plymouth of the good martial order of the Old World, so this ambassador "from ye Dutch plantation," coming with noise of trumpets and letters "written in both Dutch & French" represents the continuity at Plymouth of international intercourse, which was first developed in municipal forms, notably by the cities of Italy, France, Holland, and the Hanseatic League. What a striking reminder of the old Teutonic world, and of united Christendom, is the title "*Eedele, Eerenfeste, Wyse, Voorsinnige Heeren*," addressed to the Governor and Council of New Plymouth from the Director and Council (*Raed*) of New Netherlands, "In Christi Jesu onsen Heere,—Amen!" Plymouth and

America no longer need proofs and symbols of their historic independence, for they have secured their freedom before all the world; we need rather, in these days, signs and indications of union with the great past, upon the experience of which our nation is really building to-day as upon a cornerstone. It was right and proper that our Revolutionary Fathers and our Pilgrim Forefathers should wrest themselves from the tyranny of the Old World, but it is equally right for their children to clasp hands with the English and with all good Teutons over common and quickening memories of an illustrious past, from Hermann to Cromwell and Washington. Disruption is sometimes necessary in order to achieve civil or religious independence, but, with independence achieved, a generous union is vital to the highest progress of nations in both Church and State.

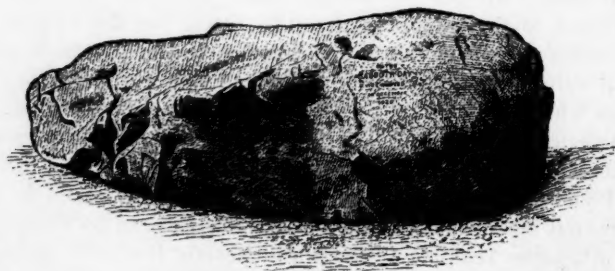
The historical reconstruction of Plymouth has been going on for many years in quiet but influential ways. Aside from the contributions by early local antiquaries, of whom Judge Davis was chief, should be mentioned the publication of Baylie's "Historical Memoir of New Plymouth" (1830); Thacher's "History" (1832); Young's "Chronicles" (1841); Russell's "Guide" (1846); Hunter's "Founder of New Plymouth" (1849) (a pioneer work on the English antecedents of the Pilgrims, by a scholarly Englishman); Bartlett's "Pilgrim Fathers" (1853), another English work; Hunter's "Scrooby Church" (1854); Shurtleff's "Colonial Records" (1855); Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation," edited by Mr. Charles Deane, and first published by the Massachusetts Historical Society (1856); Dexter's "Mourt's Relation" (1865); Scott's "Pilgrims not Puritans nor Persecutors," an English tract (1866); and a host of other writings. Mr. Dexter's recently published work upon "Congregationalism," with its superb bibliography, is but a suggestion of the grand proportions which Plymouth history will one day assume when fully restored. Meantime, as a contribution to the subject, it would be fitting for the English Government to restore to Plymouth and Massachusetts the Bradford manuscript which was carried off from the New England Library, in the tower of the Old South Church in Boston, by some pilfering British soldier at the time of the American Revolution. This matter has been ably presented and fully discussed by Mr. Deane, in his editorial preface to Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation," published from a copy taken in England. The matter has been examined anew and in a fresh light by Professor Justin Winsor, in a paper read before the Massachusetts Historical Society, November 10, 1881. The retention of this valuable manuscript in England, after repeated requests for its restoration, deserves to be made an international grievance, like the Alabama Claims. This is not a matter of dollars.

It is the unjust detention of a primal source of New England history in the library of the Bishop of London, at Fulham on the Thames, four miles from Hyde Park Corner. If one of America's adopted citizens should be unjustly imprisoned in Ireland, his release would be demanded by the united voice of public opinion and of the National Government. Is the honorable record of one hundred "Englishmen which came over this great ocean" unworthy of rescue? The History of Plymouth Plantation should be restored to its proper place like Plymouth Rock.

But while England should thus make restitution to New England, the daughter-colonies should acknowledge more fully than has yet been done their historical obligations to their mother land. The best of New England institutions really rest upon Old English foundations. It should never be forgotten that the Pilgrim Fathers did not differ from the Church of England in fundamental questions of religious faith. John Robinson said: "I believe with my heart before God, and profess before the world, that I have one and the same faith, hope, spirit, baptism, and Lord, which I had in the Church of England, and none other; that I esteem so many in that Church, of what state or order soever, as are truly partakers of that faith (as I account many thousands to be), for my Christian brethren, and myself a fellow member with them of that mystical body of Christ scattered far and wide throughout the world." As Plymouth Colony, in Religion and Law, in Church and State, in Town, Parish, and Common School, was built upon an English substructure, it is no sacrifice of American independence to admit the fact.

HERBERT B. ADAMS

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, December 6, 1882



ELECTION ROCK ON CLARK'S ISLAND.

## TRANSLATIONS

## LETTER OF COLUMBUS

[Translated for THE MAGAZINE from the *Carta de Indias*,  
Madrid, 1877.]

Letter of Cristobal Colon to the Catholic Kings, setting forth some observations on the art of Navigation, Granada, February 6, 1502.

*Most High and Mighty Kings & Lords :*

I desire to be the cause of pleasure and entertainment to your Highnesses, and not of pain and disgust ; but since the pleasure and delight attach to new things of any interest, I shall speak of each in compliance with your commands as they come to my memory ; and assuredly they will not be judged by their carelessness of expression, but by my good intentions and desires, that in all things I may be of service to your Highnesses to state only that which has occurred to myself ; and although my strength fail me and my fatigue overpower me, my will, as the most obliged and indebted of persons, shall not be wanting in my soul.

Navigators and others who trade by sea always have a superior knowledge of particular parts of the world in which they move and have common intercourse, and for this reason each one of them is better informed concerning that which he sees daily than any others who may go thither from year to year ; and for this reason we receive with pleasure the relations which they themselves make of what they have seen and gathered, as certainly we gain most perfect instruction from that which we learn by our own experience.

If we consider the world spherical as many writers have declared it their opinion to be, or science causes us to believe ; otherwise on its authority it must not be supposed that the temperature is equal in any parallel, since its diversity is as great on the sea as on the land.

The sun diffuses its influence and the earth receives it according to the concave surfaces on mountains which are framed in it, and even the ancients have written enough on this subject as Pliny also who says that under the north [see note 1] the temperature is so mild that the people who live there never die except from vexation and disgust with life, and that they suffocate and destroy themselves.

Here in Spain we find a variety of temperature so great that there is no need of testimony from any early age of the world. We see here in Granada the mountains covered with snow all the year around, an evidence of great cold, while at the foot of the same mountain chain are the Alpujarras, where the temperature is always mild without excessive heat or cold ; and as it is in this province, so it is among others in Spain which it would be prolixity to name. I say that on the sea the same thing happens, especially in proximity with the land, and this is better known to those who constantly trade there than to those who trade in other regions.

In the summer, and certainly in Andalusia, every day the sun is high, and the land and sea breezes blow alternately, and that which comes from the west is soft wind and lasts till evening, and in the same manner that this wind holds some time in this region, so other winds blow

in other parts and regions in summer and winter.

Those who constantly go from Cadiz to Naples know already that when they pass the coast of Catalonia what wind they will find there according to the season, and also those who go to the Gulf of Narbonne. Those who wish to go from Cadiz to Naples, if it be winter time, go in sight of the Cape of Creu in Catalonia by the Gulf of Narbonne; there the wind is very troublesome and sometimes vessels must yield and are obliged to run before it as far as Berueria and for this reason they oftener go to Cape Creu to keep close to the wind and reach the shelter of the Pomegas of Marsella, or the Islands of Eros, and never leave the coast until they arrive at their destination. If they have to go from Cadiz to Naples in the summer time, they sail by the coast of Berueria as far as Cerdena or in the same manner as has been said of the other north coast. Some men are designated from their voyages who have so often made them that they know well these routes and the changes of wind which may be expected according to the season of the year in which they are. Commonly to these men is given the name of the greater pilots, as on the land to the commander of an army; so much so that one who knows perfectly the road takes his command to Fontarabia would not know it from here to Liberia. The same upon the sea, some are pilots of Flanders and others of the Levant, and of the country he most frequents.

The trade and travel from Spain to Flanders is greatly prosecuted; and great mariners are engaged in it. In Flanders,

in the month of January, all the ships are despatched to return to their countries and in this month it rarely happens that there is not a stretch of wind either from the northeast or north-northeast. These winds at this time of year do not blow gently, but strong and cold, and are even dangerous: the distances from the land and the character of the earth are the cause which occasion this. These winds are not steady even though the weather may not have this fault; those who sail with them are persons who take their chances, and most often arrive with their hands in their hair. If the easterly breeze fail them and any other wind blow hard, they must make the ports of France or England until another tide allows them to leave those ports.

Sea-faring men are covetous of money and eager to return to their homes, and venture everything without waiting for the weather to settle. As it was in my chamber on another occasion, I shall inform your Highnesses of what is but for the security of this navigation; which should be undertaken when the sun is in Taurus and be abandoned in the heaviest and most dangerous season of the winter. If the winds favor the crossing is very slack, no departure should be made until the voyage seems assured; and this can be best judged of when the sky is very clear and the wind blows from the north star and holds north always rather stiffly. Your Highnesses know well what happened the year ninety-seven, when they suffered so in Burgos from the duration of the severe weather and the wind which followed, to escape which they went to Soria; and all the court having left on Saturday, your Highnesses remained to



leave on Monday, and that to a courier sent to me that night I replied in a written answer which I sent to your Highnesses that day, that the wind would begin to blow the next day, that the fleet ought not to sail, but to hold on until the wind strengthened, and should leave on Monday, and that on Thursday it would be as far as the Island of Huict, and if it did not put in there it would be in Laredo the next Monday or else the science of navigation was lost. This writing of mine, with the desire to await the arrival of the Princess, induced Your Highnesses to change their intentions not to go to Soria and to test the judgment of the sailor; and on Monday a ship appeared off Laredo which did not go into Huict because it holds but few ships [see note 2].

There are many opinions, and there always have been on land and sea, as to the course to be pursued in similar cases, and to-day there are many other discovered islands; and if that route is already known, those who have to trade back and forth there, with the perfection of instruments and construction of ships, will have a better knowledge of the land and winds and seasons most favorable to take advantage of, and have hope for the security of their lives.

May the Holy Trinity defend your Highnesses, for we have desire and need to keep your Highnesses with all their great estates and lordships.

From Granada the sixth of February fifteen hundred and two.

. S .

. S . A . S .

X M Y

: Xpo FERENS. /

NOTE 1.—Pone eos montes [Riphaei] ultroque Aquilonem, gens felix (si cradinus) quos Hyperboreos appellavere, annoso degit ævo, fabulosi celebrata miraculis. Ibi creduntur esse cardines mundi, extremi que siderum ambitus semestri luce et una die solis aversi: non, ut imperiti dixerent, ab æquinoctio verno in autumnum. Semel in anno solstitio oriuntur iis soles, brumæque semel occidunt. Regis aprica, felici temperis, omni afflatu noxio carens. Domus iis nemora lucique et deorum cultus viritim gregatimque discordia ignota et ægritudo omnis. Mors non nisi satietate vitæ, epulatis delibutoque, senio luxu, ex quadam rupe in mare salientibus. Hoc genus sepulture beatissimum.—PLIN., Hist. Nat., lib. IV., cap. XXVI.

NOTE 2.—In January of the year 1497 the Catholic Kings were at Burgos, as is proved by the date of some ordinances which they sent thence, and by the relation of Galinder de Carvajal, which also shows that "in the month of March came the Princess Margurite and wedded with the crown prince Don Juan, el lunes de Cuasimodo, 3 de abril" with great festivity.—(*Carta de Indias*, p. 658.)

#### THE SIGNATURE OF COLUMBUS XPO FERENS

[Translated for THE MAGAZINE from the *Cartas de Indias*, Madrid, 1877.]

Among the signatures of Cristobal Colon hitherto published, as well those by Fray Antonio de Remesal, who was the first to make it known in his *Historia General de las Indias occidentales*, and particularly in chapter 7, "Guatemala," etc. (lib. iv., chap. ii., page 163), as by Don Martin in his *Coleccion de las viages y Descubrimientos que hicieron por la mar los Españoles*, etc., and by the historian of the Admiral, Washington Irving, there occur important differences which deserve notice. Remesal, not supposing that future ages would take such interest in this subject, printed in the page above mentioned the signature which, accord-

ing to what he says, he had seen in a letter of the discoverer of the New World, without any explanation, and merely "because some curious person might desire to exercise his ingenuity in its interpretation," and also without fixing or giving their true value to certain characteristic details decisive of its authenticity, without explaining its omissions or giving a justification of its punctuation, which he considered as equal in all the initials of the ante-signature, and taking the liberty also of figuring the word representing the name of Cristobal, translating and writing them in this manner

S.  
S. A. S.  
X. M. A.

*Christo ferens.*

In the fifteen autograph letters of the great mariner which Navarrete found in the archives of the Lord Duke de Veragua, and in those coming from other quarters, which he printed jointly with them in volumes I. and II. of his *Coleccion*, he said nothing, and Washington Irving was equally silent in regard to the rubric which the discoverer placed on the left side of his signature; omitting likewise one of the stops between which is placed the first S of the two which are in the second line of the initials of the ante-signature, and although that which precedes the S. of the first line in many cases (stops which the Anglo-American writer did not forget to place), and likewise suppressing in it the oblique line, the direction of which is from outside inwardly, which encloses the word FERENS, which Washington Irving showed, although without accompanying it with the corresponding stop. But the most

striking variation, which can alone be ascribed to thoughtlessness on the part of Navarrete, is to be observed in the manner of writing the Xpo, in the abbreviation of which he made use of capital letters, while Irving, more true to the original, only placed the letter X in this class and the po in small letters, and prolonged the upper right stroke of the versal to supply the dark abbreviation sign, as in the letter; the signatures resulting in the following form:

According to Navarrete.	According to Washington Irving.
S.	.S.
S. A. S.	.S. A. S.
X M Y	X M Y
XPO FERENS	X <sup>po</sup> FERENS /

That the celebrated Spanish Indianographers omitted these particulars there is no doubt, since in some of the fifteen letters found which we have had the pleasure to examine, thanks to the good will of Señor don Cristobal Colon de la Cerda, the present Duke of Veragua, and in which, besides the rubric that precedes the signature in the *fac-simile* B, the two points and rays are clearly seen. But it is difficult to explain a similar error in a person so minutely precise as the author of the "*Coleccion de Viages*," who asserts that the signatures of Colon written in other ways to be apocryphal, such, for instance, as the one in which the initials X. M. Y. were punctuated, and the Latin I in place of the Greek Y, and those which present separately and not in continuation of the initials the XPO FERENS, as is established in the document, evidently not authentic, discovered in the Library of the Cara de

Corsini at Rome, with the title of *Codicillus more militarii Cristophori Columbi*, upon which is placed *datum Valledoliti 4 Mai, 1506*, and which shows this signature :

.S.  
S. A. S.  
X. M. I. XPOFERENS.

Besides these peculiarities, we have observed in the Admiral's manner of signature, that only in the olograph writings the complementary rubric of the signature is made use of, and not in those which are wanting in this particular, as any one may satisfy himself who will compare the *fac-similes* A and B (in the *Cartas de Indias*), noting also that in each of these documents he placed the two stops which precede the Xpo FERENS as in the second *fac-simile* B, and in a letter preserved by the General don Eduardo Fernandez San Roman, while in those which the Lord Duke of Veraguas was obliging enough to show us he appears to have omitted it, although this cannot be affirmed with certainty when it concerns documents "much injured by time, the ink obscured or faded out, and the margins creased or torn," as, according to Navarrete (Vol. I., p. 477), were the letters which by his diligence were discovered in the archives of the descendants of the Admiral. Between the one and the other of these autographs it is likewise to be considered that in the familiar letters the sign of abbreviation appears distinctly, and that in those written to the Kings the prolongation of the arm of the X; from which it is to be deduced that the great mariner did not confine himself to any fixed rules as to this stop, as sometimes, also, he

subscribed for the Xpo FERENS by the title of the office he was at the time filling, as may be seen in the document where he treats of the establishment of his family estates, famous from the suit which was pleaded February 22, 1498, which the aforesaid Navarrete gave to light in this manner :

.S.  
S.A.S.  
X M Y  
*El Almirante.*

Now, in the instruments of August 3, 1499, in the names of the Catholic kings, he made to the trader, Pedro de Salcedo, conceding to him the exclusive privilege for life of cutting hard wood in the Island of Hispaniola, he signed his name in this manner :

.S.  
S.A.S.  
X M Y  
V I R E Y

But ordinarily he signed, as has been shown, with the Xpo FERENS. Of the fifteen autographs mentioned as in the archives of the Duke de Veragua, published by Fernandez Navarrete, "four addressed to his great friend, Fray Don Gaspar Gorricio, monk of the Monastery of Santa Maria de las Cuevas de la Cartuja de Sevilla, and eleven to his son and heir, Don Diego Colon," all are signed in the same manner, except one done in Seville, February 25, 1505 (fifteen months before the death of the Admiral), in which he suppressed the initials, and only signed with capital and small letters, as we make them, in this manner :

Xpo Ferens.

It seems easy to comprehend the significance of these words written "partly in Greek and partly in Latin," as Don Nicolas de Azara wrote from Rome to Don Juan Bautista Muñoz on the 12th of February, 1784.

But is it known what it was if the initials preceded the *Christo Ferens*. Washington Irving says that to read them we must begin by the lower letters, combining them with those above; Juan Bautista Spoterno conjectures that they signify *oh Xristus, Sancte Maria, Josephus, oh Salvame Xristus, Maria, Josephus*; and in the *North American Review* for April, 1827, the substitution of *Jesus* for *Josephus* is suggested. Such a substitution should not, in our judgment, be accepted, because of the redundancy it implies, since *Jesus* and *Christus* are synonymous, and *Josephus* would complete the invocation, now quite common, of *Jesus, Maria, and José*. Were we to share this opinion, we should also substitute *Salve* for *Salvame*.

.S.  
S. A S.  
x m y  
: Xpo FERENS. /

#### EULOGY OF COLUMBUS.

[Translated for THE MAGAZINE.]

Funeral sermon in eulogy of his Excellency, Señor Don Cristoval Colon, Admiral-in-Chief, Vice-Roy, and Governor-General of the West Indies, their discoverer and conqueror, delivered on

occasion of the removal of his remains from the Metropolitan Church of Saint Domingo, to the Cathedral of our Lady of the Conception, at Havana, by Doctor Don José Augustin Caballero, Master of Philosophy in the Royal and Councillor Seminary College of San Carlos and San Ambrosia, on the morning of January 19th, in the year 1796.

To the Most Illustrious Governor of this city of Havana :

Illustrious Sir! If I made the sacrifice of my health and of some of my occupations when I undertook to prepare a funeral eulogium upon the ever-famous Admiral Don Cristoval Colon, now that Your Excellency has deigned to request a copy for publication, I sacrifice all the force of my talents, and lose all my tranquillity of mind. The first sacrifice was an homage cheerfully and justly rendered to my friend Señor Don Diego José Perez Rodrigues, Canon of this cathedral; this second is a polite deference to the most flattering desire and persuasions of Your Excellency. From one and the other I might derive an incontestable right to claim a double indulgence. But when Your Excellency, to the courtesies with which you honored me in your official letter of January 29th following, added the request to print my sermon, no doubt that the world may not be ignorant of the smallest detail of the demonstrations made by Havana in honor of the obsequies of the discoverer of the Americas, Your Excellency felt obliged to tender to me his protection—a condescension which, on the part of Your Excellency, is a simple expression of his generosity, will be to me an honor and an advantage. An honor?—who would not feel it such

with the stamp of Your Excellency's illustrious name? An advantage?—I entertain a confident hope that the critics who will bite at my sermon when they hear it will blunt their teeth. . . .

I have the glory of being the author of the first work which goes forth from the press under the powerful auspices of Your Excellency; and I pray you to accept and protect it also, should any malign influence assail it again. Your Excellency will exculpate and excuse my faults, now that I have only to accede to Your Excellency's desire in placing the copy in your possession, my hand trembles in this act as that of Theophilus when he laid upon the altars of the Capitol his works.

I remain Your Excellency's most obedient servant and chaplain,

DR. JOSÉ AUGUSTINE CABALLERO.

*Putasme vivent ossa ista?* Ezekiel, chap. xxxvii., verse 3.

"Answer me, can these bones live?"

How different, illustrious Christobal Colon, Grand Admiral of the Indies, how different the entry made by thee this morning through the streets and squares of Havana, from that made by thee in the delicious island of Guanahani, in the year 1492! How distinct the purposes of the one and the other! How dissimilar their object! There intoning a joyous service of thanks, surrounded by triumphal symbols, with military music and displayed banners, thou wast the first to tread the uncultivated shores of this new territory; here in the midst of funereal pomp, the national colors furled, with muffled music, and subdued dignity, thou art brought on strange shoulders into the

interior of the sanctuary. There thou wast stirred with the desire of realising thy conjectures and proving the correctness of thy profound meditations upon the existence of a new world; here thou bringest the right which belongs to Americans exclusively, to preserve thy remains and guard them from any insult that other envious nations might otherwise inflict upon them. There, in fine, thou camest to spread the knowledge of the Gospel and extend the dominion of the Catholic kings; here thou comest honorably to receive the praise which thy noble soul deserves. Holy God! Immortal God! Blessed be thou that by a chain of unexpected good fortune thou dost avail to say of the bones of the celebrated Columbus, that they manifest to us a wonderful contrast of glory and humiliation, of weakness and of power! But why is this? Is it not true, gentlemen, that man, even the most noble and distinguished, must be changed to dust? Is it not true that this very dust can lift itself to the topmost height of honor? We should search if we would undeceive ourselves the origin of true greatness, we shall find these apparent contradictions reconciled, and a justification of the ceremonies we are holding to-day over the ever-living bones of the famous Columbus.

[Here we rest the case, leaving such as may desire to know more of this memorable discourse to consult the original; simply remarking, that there is little proof that the bones in which the orator took so much interest were those of the great navigator, and that the eloquent Dr. José Augustine Caballero falls into a very common error in supposing that Columbus believed in the existence of a new world.]



## REPRINT

## ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN CAROLINA

And now having given a Relation of the French Establishment at the Mouth of the River of *Mississipi*, it behoves us to do the same Justice to the English Settlement in *Carolina*, the last letters from whence bring this Account. That the River of *Port-Royal* becomes every day better known, and more inhabited; and they who have sail'd up that River report, That all the Country adjoining is wonderfully beautiful; that the English who are settl'd there reap great Advantages by their Commerce with the Indians, who are debonaire and affable, well shap'd and industrious not having any thing of the Rudeness of the other Savages, and that they look upon the English as their Protectors against their neighbours, and readily trust their Lives and Fortunes in their Hands, especially with those who can speak their Language, which consists of about Five hundred Words or thereabouts, and is easily learnt. This good Correspondence renders all those very happy that settle upon that River, where they have not only all things necessary, but all manner of Superfluities of Fish, Fowl, and Fruit to their Hearts desire. There are Easterly Breezes which rise every Day, which continue Three or Four Hours and sometimes all Day long; these Winds blowing directly contrary to the Current of *Port Royal* keep back the Water, and make the River seem always equal so that Vessels go up with as much ease against the Stream, as they sail down with the Current.

To settle Colonies with Security, says an able Politician, Four things are re-

quir'd. First, That they should be as near one another as possible, that they may be sooner succour'd in case of revolt, or if they should be surpriz'd by an Enemy. Secondly, That they should be in Countries able to maintain the Families which are design'd thither. Thirdly, That the Country produce such Effects as may be useful to the State which settles the Colony. In the last Place, That it should be so situated that the State may draw Succour from it, either for War or Trade. All which good Qualities are to be met with in that Plantation which the English are now settling upon the River of *Port-Royal*. And it were to be wish'd, that all the *S. Nicholas's* Clerks, and other Sons of *Mercury*, with their Daughters of Joy that trouble England, would be so good natur'd as to go and live honestly together in this Place, where they might enjoy so much ease and Abundance, without venturing their Necks and Left-Cheeks for the Blessings of this Life.—*From State of Europe*, August, 1700, p. 295.

Captain *Daniel*, arriving at *Port Royal* from *Carolina*, brought an Account, That Captain *Moore*, the Governour of that Plantation after a long March with 500 Men from *Charles-Town* in *Carolina*, to a Colony of the Spaniards Call'd *S. Austin's* about Three Hundred Miles distant from his own Quarters, attack'd and made himself Master of the Town, the Inhabitants deserting it, and with the best of their Effects retiring to a Castle that was encompass'd round with a wide and deep Moat, wherein they had stor'd up Provisions for several Months and where they defended themselves with so

much Courage, that it was impossible for him to take it by storm; which was the reason that he sent Captain *Daniel* to Port Royal for Two or Three Mortars and some shells, Keeping the Castle block'd up in the mean time. If this Expedition succeed, it will very much conduce to the security of *Carolina*; there being no other place that can give 'em Disturbance, except a small Settlement of the French, call'd the *Palisado's*, about 200 miles farther up in the Country to the Westward. The same Pacquet also brought another account. That about Nine or Ten English Privateers had attack'd a place upon the Continent called *Foulou*, about Ten Leagues from *Carthage*, which they took, plunder'd and burnt. From thence they sail'd to *Caledonia*, row'd up the River *Darien*, and ingratiating themselves with the Indians, were by them conducted to the Gold Mines at *Sancta Cruz de Cana*, near *Sancta Maria* where they arriv'd after Twelve Days March: after they had march'd Nine Days March, they fell in with an Out-Guard of the Spaniards, of whom they took Nine; but the t'other escaping gave Notice at the Mines of their approach, so that the Richest of the Inhabitants fled with their Money and Jewels. However, the English took the Fort and possess'd themselves of the Mine, where about Seventy Negro's remain'd, whom they set to work, during the one and Twenty Days that they continu'd there; in which time they got about Fourscore Pound of Gold Ore, besides several pieces of Plate which they found bury'd in the Ground by the Inhabitants. At their return they burnt the Town, and brought away the *Negro's*.

Two of the Sloops row'd towards *Cuba*, landed near *Trinidad* took the Town burnt a great part of it, and brought off a considerable Booty.—*From State of Europe*, February, 1703, p. 81.

The same Success attends the affairs of the English in *America*, where they get the better of the French every day, and make themselves Masters of their best Plantations. They have taken within this little while the Island of *Orleans*, the City of *Quebeck*, made a Bishoprick in 1674 by Pope *Clement X*. The chief Inhabitants were sent Prisoners to *Boston*, and the Booty which they got in the City was valued at two hundred thousand pound Sterling. They have also taken eight Merchant Men richly laden, coming from *America*, and bound for *France*. We also understand that the English Colonies in the East Indies have made a Peace, with the Great *Mogul*, which has considerably advanced the Company's Actions.—*From State of Europe*, January, 1691, p. 31.

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#### NOTES

THE PORTRAIT OF LORD DE LA WARR  
—Under the date of June 28, 1882, the present British Minister at Washington says: "The original portrait is at Buckhurst Park, in the county of Sussex, the seat of the present Earl De La Warr. It was painted by 'Hilliard,' and I am not aware that it has ever been engraved, and as far as we know, no engraving of Thomas West exists." Our engraving follows the original with care, and may be depended upon as correct.

**ELECTION ROCK**—This Rock on Clark's Island, Plymouth Harbor [VIII. 801], is an immense boulder something near  $12 \times 30$  feet. It forms a very fine specimen of those pilgrims of the early geological age which travelled from the northwest to the southeast, and which are found in such wonderful profusion on Martha's Vineyard, where they are of such an enormous size. It bears an inscription, taken from "Mourt's Relation," "On the Sabbath day wee rested," it being added in new style, "20 December, 1620." Whether or not the Pilgrims landed on this island or the island which has been washed away, we have no means of determining. Tradition does not help much in this respect, as this island was fixed upon as *the* island, at a time when it was not understood that the harbor once contained two islands. It is certain, however, that they landed and kept the "Sabbath," which fact will be remembered with respect when time has done its work and "Election Rock," itself has been eaten away.

THE STATUE OF WILLIAM PITT stood at the intersection of Wall and William Streets. It was set up in recognition of "the services he rendered America in promoting the Repeal of the Stamp Act." It was of fine white marble, in the Roman style, and Pitt was represented holding in his right hand a scroll partly open, reading "Articuli Magna-Charta Libertatum." The south side of the pedestal bore a Latin inscription; and the work was designed by Wilton, being a companion to that erected in Charleston, S. C. [VIII. 214]. It was set up September 7,

1770, amid the applause of the people. In 1776 the head, which was fixed on by a pin, was taken off or knocked off, either by the Americans or British; and, in 1787, it was removed because it was in the way. It was carried to the Corporation Yard, and afterward to the arsenal. Later it did duty in front of Riley's Museum, corner of West Broad-



WILLIAM PITT.

way and Franklin Street. It was purchased finally by Mr. Samuel F. Mackie, who presented it to the New York Historical Society. It now stands with the Nineveh marbles in the refectory—a ghostly, expressionless, melancholy thing, waiting for some public-spirited person to accomplish its restoration, which is entirely feasible. Who will do the work?

THE O'CALLAGHAN COLLECTION was dispersed at public auction by Bangs & Co. during the week beginning with December 4th. The catalogue contains a great many good titles, and the sale proved quite satisfactory. Castell's "Short Discoverie," 1644, said to contain the first English account of New Netherland, brought \$72; the Darien Tracts, \$125; De Vries, 1655, went for \$110; Champ-lain of 1620 brought \$55, the edition of 1632, \$130, and another with fac-

cluded in the collection, but the average was high, and the sale excited very great interest. The catalogue, which is well worthy of preservation, was compiled by Mr. E. W. Nash. Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan (V. 77) was born at Mallow, Ireland, February 29, 1797, and died in New York, May 29, 1880. His name will ever stand indissolubly connected with the history of the State of New York.



E. B. O'CALLAGHAN.

*simile* of original map, \$40. The Jesuit Relations, including reprint, translations, and originals, brought \$1,068.45. The sale realized upward of twelve thousand dollars, which was more than the sum for which the collections were offered at private sale. This library was formed with especial reference to the history of New York, and everything bearing upon the Colony and State was secured in all cases when it lay in the collector's power. Many books of no great value were in-

GEN. NIXON'S PAY-WARRANT—Continental pay-warrants not being common, the following is given as a specimen. It is one of Brigadier-General John Nixon's, of Massachusetts, who distinguished himself at Bunker Hill, Long Island, and Saratoga.

The United States of America, to  
Brigadier-General John Nixon, D<sup>r</sup>  
To four months Service in the  
army to viz<sup>t</sup> from the 9<sup>th</sup> of  
Nov<sup>r</sup> 1776 to the 9<sup>th</sup> of } 500 dolls.  
March 1777 both Days In-  
clusive @ 125 p Month,  
Boston March 9<sup>th</sup> 1777.

Jn<sup>o</sup> Nixon, B.G.

To Ebenezer Hancock Esq. Deputy  
Paymaster General to the Forces of the  
United States of America.

Sir

Pay to Brigadier General John Nixon  
five Hundred Dollars in full of the above  
for which this shall be your sufficient  
warrant.

Given at Head Quarters } W. Heath,  
Boston March 26<sup>th</sup> 1777. } M.G.

Boston, March 27, 1777.

Received above Contents in full.

*John Nixon B.G.*

A COLONIAL ARITHMETIC—The article in the N. Y. *Evening Post*, of November 19, 1882, on early Dutch Schoolmasters here, reminds me of an old MSS. arithmetic which a youth at Gravesend, L. I., began in 1754. Inside the covers are some of the usual maxims quaintly expressed, viz.: "Carefully mind to mend in every line." "Game not in School-time when you ought to write." "Avoid ill company and Sloth, By which to Ruin men are brought." Examples follow, from Multiplication to the Rule of Three. On one page we have the "Rule of Bartar," in 1760, which is "for exchanging of ware one Commodity for Another." "This rule," the boy has it, "shows the Merchants how they may Proportion their Goods, so that Neither of them may sustain Loss"; and an example cited runs: "Two merchants A and B bartar. A hath 320 Dozen of Candles @ 4/6 p Dozen, for which B giveth him 30£ in cash and y<sup>e</sup> Rest in Cotton @ 8d. p lb. I demand how much Cotton B must give A more than y<sup>e</sup> 30£ in cash." Under "Single Fellowship," we have an example suggesting the French and Indian War, as follows: "Three sloops privateers joined in a cruise and Took a French prize worth 463£, y<sup>e</sup> first sloop had 200 men, y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> had 300 and y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> had 40 men. I demand each sloop's shair according to their number of men at that rate.

	The First	{	171:9: 7
<i>Facit</i>	y <sup>e</sup> Second	{	257:4: 5
	y <sup>e</sup> Third	{	34:5:11

For neatness, good penmanship and correct work, this old book of "sums," would compare favorably with similar productions of the modern school-boy.

J. S.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR A COLONIAL HOUSE-KEEPER—Wanted at a Seat about half a day's journey from Philadelphia, on which are good improvements, and domestics A single Woman of unsullied reputation, an affable, cheerful, active and amiable disposition; cleanly, industrious, perfectly qualified to direct and manage the female concerns of country business, as raising small stock, dairying, marketing, combing, carding, spinning, knitting, sewing, pickling, preserving, etc., and occasionally to instruct two young ladies in those branches of œconomy, who, with their father, compose the family. Such a person will be treated with respect and esteem, and meet with every encouragement due to such a character.—*Penn Packet*, September 23, 1780.

#### PETERSFIELD

PENN AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC—Some of the papers in parts of the country having given publicity to a charge reported to have been made by a Methodist minister of Philadelphia, to the effect that Penn paid the Indians for their land with rum, Josiah W. Leeds refutes, in the columns of the *Friends' Review*, that ill-considered and misleading statement. He cites from the Pennsylvania archives the various treaty deeds from 1681 to 1697, by which it appears that, although a great variety of useful goods, merchandise, and utensils are specified, only two ankers (twenty gallons) of rum, together with a barrel and a half of beer, occur as any part of the consideration given by Penn, or his deputies, to the Indians for their land. He further points out that, in order to a correct estimation of the matter, it is necessary to bear in



mind that beer, in that day, was the common drink, as coffee is now; that there was then no public opinion against the use of rum; while Penn's extreme solicitude as to the introduction and sale of strong liquors to the Indians "exhibited a sense of his moral responsibility as proprietor and legislator, which was far in advance of his time." This is clearly shown by citations from the colonial records. The reply concludes with this terse and sincerely uttered saying of Penn: "It were miserable indeed for us to fall under the just censure of the poor Indian conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending."

L.

*Philadelphia, Pa.*

INDIAN CAPTIVES—Captain William Moore of the Brig Africa, who arrived here on Sunday last from New Orleans, brought with him one George Cahoon a Lad of about 15 or 16 years old, who says that he was (with the whole Family) taken about ten years ago, from Cumberland County in Virginia, by the French Iroquois Indians, that his father's name was also George Cahoon, and that three of his brothers and three of his sisters were still with the Indians when he was purchased by a French Officer and carried to the Mississippi; the said Lad is now by choice going to Trois River in Canada, attending on two young Gentlemen, sons of the Surveyor General of New Orleans.—*New York Mercury*, July 27, 1767.

WASHINGTON'S FAVORITE HOSTELRY—Died July 7, 1818, at Wilmington, Delaware, Capt. Patrick O'Flinn, in the 70th year of his age—a soldier of the Revolu-

tion, and, indeed, an honest man. He kept a public house in that borough during the time that Congress sat in Philadelphia—it was always the stopping place of General Washington, who generally remained a night with Capt. O'Flinn, and made it a constant rule to invite the Captain (who was of uncommon and retired habits) to spend the evening with him. It was remarked on a certain occasion by one of the gentlemen in Washington's suite (Col. Lear), that in all his journeys with the President, he had never seen him so much at home, in a public house, as in Capt. O'Flinn's, or ever met with a man with whom he discoursed more familiarly than with him. There were few men with whom Washington was familiar. The Editor of the Register, accustomed from a child to respect the virtues of Capt. O'Flinn, offers this little tribute to his memory.—*Niles' Weekly Register*, xiv., 344. MINTO

A SLIGHT MISTAKE—The *National Advocate* of New York, September 2, 1818, in an account of artillery practice by the Ninth N. Y. State Artillery, at Hoboken, stated that the prize sword was awarded to John Kerdolf. In the issue of September 5th, the editor announced that there was a mistake in the name of the artilleryman who won the sword; that "his name is Joseph Gawley."

PETERSFIELD

PENN-YAN AND WILKES-BARRE—A new paper has been issued from a town in the State of New York, bearing the uncouth name of *Penn-Yan*; the word being coined to recognize and perpetuate the fact that it was settled by *Penn-syl-*

vanians and *Yan-kees*. There is a respectable town in Pennsylvania, called Wilkes-barre, which we learn was thus named in honor of the famous John Wilkes, and of Colonel Barre, one of the most intrepid asserters of the rights of the American Colonies in the British Parliament.—*National Advocate*, August 6, 1818.

PETERSFIELD

DESCRIPTION OF JOHN C. CALHOUN—

Mr. Calhoun, we presume, is over sixty years of age, though his appearance would not indicate him to be over fifty-five. He looks well and healthy. He is about five feet eleven inches high, of an erect but not full form. His chin rather protrudes; his mouth is wide; his lips are thin and compressed; his nose is aquiline; his forehead full; his head large and square; his hair is strong, close, and shaggy. His whole physiognomy gives indication of thought, firmness of purpose, and self-reliance.—*New Orleans Delta*, November 8, 1845.

W. K.

THE FOWNELL TOMBSTONE—The oldest tombstone in the old burial ground at Charlestown, Mass., where lie the remains of many of the first inhabitants, bears the following inscription:

JOHN Fownell  
Sonne of Iohn  
Fownell aged  
18 yeares. Dyed  
The 11 Day of April  
1654

The stone, which stands near the top of the hill, an ancient moraine forming the burial ground, within a few feet of the Harvard monument, is of a compact, greenish graywacke, upon which the

weather during these long generations has had no noticeable effect. The stone is evidently good for at least a thousand years of severe New England weather, if not two thousand.

FAITHFUL ROWSE—The memorial of this person is found in the same place. It bears the following inscription:

Here lies ye Body of Faithful Rowse.  
Aged 75 Years. Died May ye 18<sup>th</sup> 1664

According to the Book of Estates, Faithful Rowse was a saddler.

SAMUEL WEBB—This interesting memorial, also found in the old burial ground, is of blue slate, carved in an ornate manner, being noticeable from the fact that a semicircle of the stone was knocked out by a large cannon-ball, fired probably during the siege of Boston in 1775, though possibly it was directed by the British on the Charles River at the Americans on Bunker Hill. The stone is now badly cracked by the weather and a piece has fallen off, but forty years ago it was in a tolerable condition. The inscription is as follows:

Here Lyes Buried  
ye Body of  
M<sup>r</sup> SAMUEL WEBB  
Who Departed this  
life October 10<sup>th</sup> Anno  
Dom<sup>i</sup> 1739. Ætat<sup>e</sup> Suae 50.

THE PEMAQUID CEMETERY—The oldest gravestone in this cemetery bears date 1695, inscribed "H. M.," undoubtedly standing over the grave of Sergeant Hugh Murch, an enlisted man from Newbury, Mass. Coffin, in his "History of Newbury," says, citing Judge Sewall's diary: "1695. Sept. 9. Twenty-four men

at Pemaquid, going to get wood, are shot, four of whom are dead. Sergeant Hugh Murch (of Newbury), George's son, was killed at the first shot."

THE STARLING TOMBSTONE—The oldest known gravestone on the island of Monhegan, lying about a dozen miles off the coast of Maine, bears the following inscription: "Phebe Starling, died March 4, 1784, aged 1 month." The graveyard is on the slope of a hill near the lighthouse. There were other and earlier burial places, but they are not now known.

A WITCHCRAFT DEPOSITION — "The Deposition of Thomas Burnam jun aged 48 years, who testifieth & saith y<sup>t</sup> some years sinc one Sumor one of my coves was uery often milked & Some-times tow of them in my yard 'by my house : & thinking, to catch y<sup>e</sup> milker : y<sup>t</sup> took paines & watched & one with me & those nights y<sup>t</sup> I watched my coves ware not milked & I arose one night a Litele before Day & stood in my baren corn neare whare my coves Lay & sone I saw a female stand in y<sup>e</sup> midele of y<sup>e</sup> yeard, whare was Rachell Clenton, which as I thought uanished a way & a nother night I a rose before Day & walked in y<sup>e</sup> Street & just one y<sup>e</sup> breaking of Day came sudingly to my yeard where my Coves Lay & that cow that was most comonly milked, Stood & a parson a milking which presently glanced from y<sup>e</sup> cow in y<sup>e</sup> Lickenesse of a gray Cat & run up y<sup>e</sup> back side of my house scraching upon y<sup>e</sup> shingells a bought fourty foot & so ouer y<sup>e</sup> top of my house & furthur saith not, Except y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> spring following y<sup>e</sup> same Cow was found Dead on y<sup>e</sup> Comon not mired nor cast

nor throw Poverty or any Disease y<sup>t</sup> we know of."

The above copy of a deposition was used in a trial for witchcraft in Boston in 1692.

S. P. MAYBERRY

ABERDEIN—The name "Charles Aberdein" and "Charles Edward Robert Aberdein" is written in a copy of a pocket volume entitled "Chronologia, or the Tablet of Memory ; or, Historian's Assistant."<sup>1</sup> It contains, also, in writing :

"Aberdein Charles, taken prisoner by the Americans Sept<sup>r</sup> 11<sup>th</sup>, 1778."

"Edw<sup>d</sup> Barnard his Book."

Under the title "Eminent Men ":

"Garrick David born 17 died 17 Æ."

"Johnson D<sup>r</sup> Sam. born 17 died 1784."

C. Aberdein was probably an officer of the British forces during the American Revolution.

WILLIAM R. CUTTER

*Lexington, Mass.*

<sup>1</sup> More fully: "Chronologia. | The | Tablet of Memory ; | or, | Historian's Assistant, | Shewing | every memorable event in history, | from | the earliest period | to | the present year M,DCC,LXXIII ; | classed under distinct heads, | alphabetically digested, | with their dates. | Comprehending | an epitome of English History ; | a | chronology of eminent men | and | a Genealogical Account of the Descent of | His Present Majesty George III. from Egbert, | the First Sole Monarch of England. | London : | Printed for John Wheble, Paternoster | Row, 1773." Pp. 164 (complete), with a preface and full table of contents. Frontispiece, a plate representing "History resisting Time from destroying a Column of Books containing events from y<sup>e</sup> Creation to y<sup>e</sup> present Time" (S. Wale del.; I. Collyer sculp.). Motto, "Sparsa Colligit." The Column of books, in plate, is surmounted by a bust of *George Rex III.*

OLD BIBLES — While the readers of THE MAGAZINE are determining the value of the "very old Bible," the title-pages of which are given by K., of Charleston, S. C., in the September number, it would gratify your humble correspondent immensely to have a price fixed on a Bible belonging to him, the same being in good condition, printed on old English black-letter type, and containing the following titles :

"The Bible. Translated according to the Ebrewe and Greeke, and conferred with the best translations in diuers languages.

"With most profitable annotations vpon all the hard places, and other things of great importance, as may appear in the Epistle to the Reader. And also a most profitable Concordance for the readie finding out of any thing in the same contained.

"Imprinted At London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most excellent Maiestie. 1606. Cum Priuilegio.

"The New Testament of our Lord Iesvs Christ. Conferred diligently with the Greeke and best approoued Translations in diuer Languages. Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie. 1606. Cum Priuilegio.

"Two right profitable and fruitfull Concordances, or large and ample Tables Alphabetically. The first containing the interpretation of the Hebrue, Caldean-Greeke, and Latine wordes and names scatteringly dispersed throughout the whole Bible, with their common places following euery of them : And the second comprehending all such other principall wordes and matters, as concerne the

sense and meaning of the Scriptures, or direct vnto any necessary and good instruction. The further contents and vse of both the which Tables (for breuitie sake) is expressed more at large in the Preface to the Reader : And will serue as well for the translation called Geneua, as for the other authorized to be read in Churches. Collected by R. F. H.

"Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most excellent Maiestie. 1606. Cum Priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis."

It will be seen that this Bible was printed before the King James version appeared, and it is also one of the celebrated "Breeches" edition.

CLARK JILLSON

## QUERIES

VIRGINIANS—When Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers arrived in Virginia, May 23, 1610, they found only sixty persons alive ; three of these died within a few days, leaving fifty-seven. I am anxious to secure a complete list of these, if possible, and ask corrections and additions to the following : Saml. Collier, John Dods, Anthony Gosnold, Jr., John Lagdon, Capt. John Martin, George Percy, Esq., Nathaniel Powell, James Read, Thomas Webbe, Jeffrey Abbot, Wm. Cantrell, Nathaniel Causey, Ed. Gurgana, Richard Killingbeck, Thomas Savage, William Spence, Anne Saydon, Raleigh Crashaw, Thomas Douse, David Ellis, Thomas Graves, Robert Poole, Richard Taylor, Daniel Tucker, Edward Berkley, Wm. Box, Thomasine Causey, Capt. James Davies, John Powell, Wm. Powell, Mat-

threw Somers, Henry Spetman, George Webbe, Lady Temperance Feardley, Robert Partin, Joane Pierce, Edward Rowcroft, *alias* Stallings, Edward Grindon, John Proctor, Capt. Isaac Maddison, and Wm. Coxe (41).

Of those who had been to Virginia, there were still living in England or elsewhere—Capt. Argall, Capt. Newport, Capt. Smith, Edward Maria Wingfield, Matthew Morton, Robert Tindall, Thomas Coe, Wm. Dyer, Michael and Wm. Phettiplace, Wm. Nolday, Richard Pots, Richard Wyffin, Thomas Abbay, John Codrington, and Capt. Francis West (16). Were there any others?

ALEXANDER BROWN

*Norwood, Virginia.*

PATRICK HENRY—Where is the original portrait of Patrick Henry, from which the well-known engraving of him must have been taken? and who the artist? D.

EQUIPMENT OF A REVOLUTIONARY CAPTAIN—Did officers in the Continental Army carry a musket, or a rifle, as part of their equipment? In a notice of the death of Captain Daniel Clark, of Plainfield, Conn., who fell in the battle of September 19, 1777, at Bemis Heights, he is described as "charging his piece," when a ball from the enemy struck him in the forehead.

K.

THOMAS PAINE'S REVOLUTIONARY WRITINGS—Can any one tell whether Paine's writings over the signature of "The Forester" were ever published in book or pamphlet; and if so, where a copy can be found? When and where were

published the earliest French translations of "Common Sense"? Were translations of "Common Sense" published in German, Dutch, Italian, or Spanish? Can any one give contemporary testimony as to the influence and popularity of "The Crisis"? X. Y. Z.

PURCHASE OF RHODE ISLAND FROM THE INDIANS—Peter Kalin, the well-known Swedish naturalist, printed in his book of travels, the following statement in regard to the purchase of Rhode Island. I do not find it verified in any history of that commonwealth.

"Mr. Franklin and several other gentlemen frequently told me that a powerful Indian, who possessed Rhode Island, had sold it to the English for a pair of spectacles; it is large enough for a Prince's domain, and makes a peculiar government at present. This Indian knew to set a true value upon a pair of spectacles; for undoubtedly, if those glasses were not so plentiful, and only a few of them could be found, they would, on account of their great use, bear the same price with diamonds."

Can it be possible that Benjamin Franklin imposed on the credulity of the innocent traveller? MINTO

COLUMBUS PORTRAITS—The city of Genoa, purposing to erect a monument to Columbus, one part of which should be a life-like statue of him, asked advice all over Europe concerning a model for their sculptor. The Historical Society of Madrid, published a voluminous report on the subject by an artist and critic, Carderera. Their opinion was that the most truthful representation of the great



discoverer was to be sought in the Florentine Uffizi portrait (1568 or earlier), the Basel woodcut (1578) and the engraving of Capriolo (1596), which were all three derived from the same source, namely, the museum of Paolo Giorio on Lake Como. The Genoese memorial was completed in 1862.

Will some reader of *THE MAGAZINE* inform us, 1. Whether the Madrid advice was followed by the statuary of the Columbus at Genoa? 2. If not, what Columbian type was his model? 3. What has become of the museum of Paolo Giorio? 4. Where can any particulars be found describing its formation, or remains?

JAMES D. BUTLER

*Madison, Wis.*

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CAPITOL—What is the earliest use of this word in English? It was, perhaps, used in Gaul under the Romans to mean the (provincial) government buildings, and certainly in modern France. I find it in Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, written in 1781, p. 221.

Did Jefferson borrow it from the French? or where did this Americanism come from?

D.

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DOYLE'S GOOD SENSE—In the summer of 1780, proposals were circulated in New York City to obtain subscriptions for the publication of an answer to Paine's "Common Sense." The title of the book was to be "Good Sense." The author, William Doyle, promised to print it when one hundred subscribers were obtained. Was the volume issued?

M.

## REPLIES

### BANCROFT PAMPHLETS [VIII. 706]—

The following list is believed to comprise all the pamphlets in the various controversies which the publication of Mr. Bancroft's History of the United States gave rise to. W. B. R.

1. "The Memory of the Late James Grahame, the Historian of the United States, Vindicated from the Charges made by George Bancroft, etc." By Josiah Quincy. Boston, 1846.

2. "Defence of Col. Timothy Pickering against Bancroft's History." By S. Swett. Boston, 1859.

3. "Nathaniel Greene. An Examination of some Statements concerning Major-General Greene in the Ninth Volume of Bancroft's History of the United States." By Geo. Washington Greene. Boston, 1866.

4. "President Reed of Pennsylvania. A Reply to Mr. George Bancroft and Others." By William B. Reed. Philadelphia, 1867. (Three editions published with same imprint.)

5. "Joseph Reed. A Historical Essay." By George Bancroft. New York, 1867.

6. "A Rejoinder to Mr. Bancroft's Historical Essay on President Reed." By William B. Reed. Philadelphia, 1867.

7. "William B. Reed, of Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Expert in the Art of Exhumation of the Dead. [By Benjamin Rush, London], 1867. Reprint of same [Philadelphia], 1867.

8. "A Criticism of Mr. William B. Reed's Aspersions on the Character of Dr. Benjamin Rush." By a Member

of the Philadelphia Bar [John G. Johnson], Philadelphia, 1867.

9. "The Reed Controversy. Further Facts with Reference to the Character of Joseph Reed." [By William S. Stryker.] Trenton, 1876.

10. "Correspondence and Remarks upon Bancroft's History of the Northern Campaign of 1777, and the Character of Major-General Philip Schuyler." By George L. Schuyler. New York, 1867.

11. "General John Sullivan. A Vindication of his Character as a Soldier and Patriot." By Thomas C. Amory. Morrisania, 1867.

12. "General Sullivan not a Pensioner of Luzerne." Cambridge, 1875.

13. "General Sullivan not a Pensioner of Luzerne, with the Report of the New Hampshire Historical Society; vindicating him from the Charge made by George Bancroft." Second edition. Boston, 1875.

AMERICAN COMIC PERIODICALS [VIII. 706]—Here is a very incomplete list of our comic periodicals, arranged as nearly as possible in the order of their appearance. I should be glad to see the list completed.

Published in New York:

Salmagundi, 1807; Yankee Doodle, 1846; Figaro, 1850; Diogenes, hys Lanterne, 1852; Young America, 1853; Vanity Fair, 1859; John Donkey, 1860; Mrs. Grundy, 1865; The Kaleidoscope, 1869; Punchinello, 1870; The Pica-yune, (?); Champagne, 1871; The Chip Basket, 1871; The Comic News, 1872; The Comic Monthly, 1872; The Brickbat, 1872; The Cartoon, 1872; Budget of Fun, 1872; The Jolly Joker, 1872; Nicknax, 1872; Merryman's Monthly,

1872; The Phunny Phellow, 1872; Yankee Notions, 1872.

Published in Chicago:

Carl Pretzel's Magazine Pook, 1872.

Published in Boston:

Mrs. Partington's Scrap Bag, 1853; Cocktails, 1871; The New Varieties, 1872.

Published in New Haven:

Yang-Lang, (?).

#### BIBLIOGRAPHER

THE ROBINSON HOUSE—Turning quite by accident to an old volume [iv. 468] of THE MAGAZINE, I saw a communication from Mr. Campbell, in which he vindicates himself from a suggestion of "a slip of the pen," which I had ventured to make [iv. 227] with reference to the elder Col. Beverley Robinson. He has certainly gone astray; but he has done so in very good company. He might have added Mr. Lossing to those who have made the same mistake. Mr. Curwen, however, is right. As I have already given the correct statement from the family records, it is not worth while to ask you to print anything more; but I would be very glad if you could express my regret that I did not see his article sooner, and my apologies for suspecting him of inadvertence. I now see that he has merely followed writers who appear to have followed one another.

BEVERLEY R. BETTS

KING GEORGE'S STATUE (VIII. 854)—From the interesting biographical sketch of Captain Oliver Brown, of the Revolutionary army, lately prepared by the Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, we learn for the first time who composed the party that

pulled the statue down. It was headed by none other than the Captain himself, then an officer in Knox's artillery corps. The account, as given in the pamphlet, is as follows:

"The reading of the Declaration of Independence, occurring that day [July 9, 1776], aroused the American soldiers to the height of enthusiasm. Excited by the events which had already occurred, and in which he had so largely participated, and by the known proximity of the British forces, which landed at Long Island on the 22d, he had already determined to remove the statue of the king. The Declaration of Independence added firmness to his resolution. Selecting forty men, on whose courage he could rely, one-half of them sailors, and providing them with ropes, Brown marched them secretly that night to a dark alley opposite the statue. Several sailors, mounting the figure of his Majesty, securely fastened the ropes to his body, when the united strength of the entire party was exerted for his overthrow. But so firmly had the statue been fastened to the marble base, that the ropes broke at the first effort. Success, however, crowned the second attempt—the statue was pulled down over the fence, and the image of George III. lay humbled in the dust. . . . In obedience to the orders of a superior officer, Captain Brown separated the leaden statue from its iron support, and sent it to the laboratory to be moulded into bullets."

If the king's head was sent by Montresor to Lord Townshend, and parts of the horse are in the New York Historical rooms, and other portions were taken to the "laboratory" and the Wolcott man-

sion, in Connecticut, the query occurs whether his Majesty may not have been still further distributed among his subjects—in which case, the discovery of additional remains, apart from bullets, will be in order.

BOWLING GREEN

FORT LEE (VIII. 706)—In *Appleton's Journal*, December 9, 1871, will be found a sketch of Fort Lee, with some account of its construction.

WILKES

BADGES OF MERIT—SERGEANT DANIEL BISSELL (VII. 460)—In a letter from Major Isaac Craig to Caleb Swan, Paymaster-General, dated Pittsburgh, May 11, 1802, he writes: "Yesterday, Lieut. J. W. Brownson, with a small detachment of infantry, arrived at this place. Mr. Brownson has this morning applied to me for pay for himself and his detachment, together with Lieut. Baker, and says he has several months' pay due. Please inform me to what period these officers are paid. The detachment, I find, is part of Capt. Daniel Bissell's company." In a letter from the same to the same, dated May 14, 1802, he says: "Capt. Daniel Bissell and Lieut. Swan are both arrived at this place, and, I believe, both poor, Bissell having travelled on foot from Lancaster." Was poverty the reward of merit?

ISAAC CRAIG

*Alleghany, Pa.*

NAT TURNER INSURRECTION IN VIRGINIA (VII. 458)—A brief account of it will be found in *American Annual Register*, VI., 349, 350; a fuller account, containing Nat Turner's confession and a list of the fifty-five persons killed, will be found in *Howe's Historical*

*Collections of Virginia*, pp. 471-473. The insurrection excited considerable discussion in Virginia, and, although the following publications do not refer to negro risings, they contain much which, I think, will prove interesting and valuable to G. W. W. : *Debates in the Virginia Legislature of 1831-32, on the Abolition of Slavery* ; *Letters of Appomattox to the People of Virginia on the Abolition of Slavery* ; *Speech of Thomas Marshall, in the House of Delegates of Virginia, on the Abolition of Slavery*.

All of the above were published in Richmond, Va. Thomas Marshall was the eldest son of Chief-Justice Marshall. He was killed in Baltimore, on June 30, 1834, by the fall of a chimney, being at the time on a journey to attend the death-bed of his father, who died in Philadelphia on July 6th following. Thomas Marshall was distinguished as a scholar, a lawyer, and a Member of the Virginia Legislature.

*The Message of the Governor of Louisiana to the Legislature, in Extraordinary Session, November 11, 1831*, is also important. The Legislature was called to consider the subject of slavery and conspiracies of slaves.

C.

KOSCIUSKO AS AN ARTIST [VIII. 854]—A portrait of Thomas Jefferson, drawn by Kosciusko, was engraved on steel in the year 1829, and appeared in the "Galerie Napoléon," published at Paris by Rénard. The head is encircled with a wreath of olive leaves, and the likeness is intolerably bad.

SAMUEL A. GREEN

Boston, Mass.

In connection with Kosciusko, I will anticipate the issue of a genealogy, now in press, of the Pollock family, of Carlisle, Pa., by giving the following extract : "In the manuscript copy of Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, there is a water-color drawing of a young lady. Under the likeness Mr. Watson has made the following record :

"The above is a likeness drawn from life by the celebrated General Kosciusko, done at Philadelphia, 1797-8, when the Congress was in session there, and he was in attendance, claiming a compensation for his services and wounds. It represents my amiable friend, Lucretia Adelaide Pollock, who died in Philadelphia in March, 1804, in her twentieth year. She was the daughter of Oliver Pollock, Esquire, distinguished in the Revolution for his zeal and services in the American cause while a resident of New Orleans. My daughter Lucretia was named after her."

The drawing is a profile sketch of a young face outlined in pencil, and colored with a brush. It has no value as a work of art, and, except to the friends of Miss Pollock, none whatever beyond the fact that it was executed by the hand of Kosciusko.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

"THE BEGINNING OF TRANS-ATLANTIC STEAM NAVIGATION" (VIII. 783) — Mr. Smith says that the *Sirius* was the first vessel that crossed the Atlantic by steam, the year being 1837. This is an error. The very first steamship that crossed the Atlantic was the American ship *Savannah*,

which sailed from Savannah to Liverpool in 1819. A full account of the ship and of the voyage may be found in *Harper's Magazine* for February, 1877.

The second steamer that crossed the ocean was the *Royal William*, which arrived at Boston from Liverpool in 1831 or 1832. In common with the greater part of the population of the city, I went to see her. She lay off the T wharf, and was very high out of the water in consequence of the large consumption of coal during the voyage.

Dr. Lardner was at that time delivering lectures in this country, and took the ground that the ocean could not safely and profitably be navigated by steam. From the great increase in the size of vessels—coupled with the diminished consumption of coal, the conditions are very different from what they were in Dr. Lardner's time.

J. H. S.

*Baltimore*, November, 1882.

[With respect to the Savannah, we find the following newspaper statement: "Launched at New York City, August 22, 1818, from the ship-yard of Messrs. Ficket & Crockett, the elegant *Steam-Ship* Savannah, to be commanded by Captain Moses Rogers, and intended as a regular trader between Savannah and Liverpool, principally for the accommodation of passengers."

Now "J. H. S." says that the Savannah "sailed" to Liverpool; while in an article which appeared in the *New York Evening Post* (June 24, 1882), Mr. Smith says: "Happening to be in Liverpool at the time of her arrival, I visited and examined the ship, machinery, etc. She was complete ship-rigged, and made

no pretensions to have navigated the ocean by steam, and if I remember correctly, sailed all the passage, carrying her steam-engine as any other ship might do. At any rate, if she used her engine at all it was too little to be of any account. She was not designed to navigate the ocean." This statement, however, does not appear to cover the case. The case of the *Royal William* also needs to be examined. Perhaps some Boston reader can give the exact facts.]

### SOCIETIES

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The Annual Address was delivered in the Hall of this Society, by the Rev. Howard Crosby, D.D., LL.D., on the evening of November 21st, his subject being, "Historical Writing as a Fine Art." The speaker was somewhat hopeful with respect to the future of historical composition in this country, and, in a forcible manner, set forth some excellent thought in connection with the general subject.

On the evening of December 5th, a paper was read before the Society by Mr. Lewis Rosenthal, on "History and Political Philosophy." The paper was listened to with great interest. The decease of the following members was announced:

Robert Lowden, a life member since 1854, died at Flushing, L. I., November 19, 1882, in the seventy-fourth year of his age; Thurlow Weed, a resident member since 1868, died November 22, 1882, in the eighty-eighth year of his age; Edward N. Bibby, M. D., a life member since 1872, died November 24, 1882, in his ninety-second year; Henry Crude



Murphy, LL.D., an honorary member since 1882, died at Brooklyn, L. I., December 1, 1882, in the seventy-third year of his age.

At the proper time, George H. Moore, LL.D., rose and made a brief but feeling address, setting forth, in most appropriate and appreciative terms, the relation of the last-named person in the foregoing list to the study of American history. Mr. Murphy was justly characterized as an earnest and indefatigable student, who had not only made a very large and rich collection of materials for the study of American history, but had sent out from the press a considerable number of valuable works, having also contributed largely to the publications of the Society. In the judgment of Mr. Moore, no one would be able to carry on his work. He then offered the following resolutions, which were passed:

*Resolved*, That the New York Historical Society, with profound regret, adds to its list of deceased associates the name of Henry C. Murphy, LL.D., Honorary Member of this Society.

*Resolved*, That the Society desires to record upon its minutes its deep appreciation of the important and invaluable services rendered by its lamented associate to his country in the councils of the State, and as the Nation's representative abroad, and its grateful acknowledgments for his scholarly labors, and devotion throughout his long and active life to the preservation and elucidation of American history.

*Resolved*, That the sympathy of the Society be tendered to the family of its deceased associate, and that they be furnished with a copy of these proceedings.

## LITERARY NOTICES

THE CENTURY ILLUSTRATED MONTHLY MAGAZINE, MAY, 1882, TO DECEMBER, 1882. New York: THE CENTURY CO.

HARPER'S NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE, DECEMBER, 1881, TO DECEMBER, 1882. New York: HARPER & BROTHERS. 1882.

In connection with these publications one experiences an embarrassment of riches. Both show the great advance that has been made in magazine literature within a few years, an advance, indeed, that leaves the Old World far behind. The general excellence both of the *Century* and *Harper* is so thoroughly conceded that they scarcely need any words of praise. The handling of both is extremely skilful, the literary talent exhibited in both being conspicuous, while the engraving is often of an exquisite character. The *Century*, upon the whole, however, appears the more aesthetic, though occasionally *bizarre*; while *Harper* is the more competitive, appearing at times as though attempting to "lee-bow" its agile and formidable rival. The historical efforts of the two magazines very naturally attract our attention, and in this respect we may have to award the palm to the *Century*, whose projected series of articles by Dr. Eggleston, being based upon careful and deliberate research, already affords signs of promise, the illustrations of Dr. Eggleston's initial article on "The Beginning of a Nation," being of rare value, with the exception of the attempted portrait of Lord De la Warr, which, in an emergency, would do for Garibaldi or Robinson Crusoe.

As a specimen of the historical articles in *Harper* one might refer to Mr. Fiske's December sketch on "New England in the Colonial Period," which gives little that will be regarded as new, except where we find such enterprising statements as that "the first printing-press on the American continent began its work in 1639 in Cambridge." According to Winthrop, in 1639 a book called "The Freeman's Oath," and an "Almanack Calculated for New England," were printed at Cambridge, though no copy of either work appears to be known at present. The so-called "Bay Psalm-Book" was printed at Cambridge in 1640, and of the original edition about nine copies exist. These performances, however, are too late for Mr. Fiske's purpose by about a century. Therefore it may be noted that the earliest known complete book printed on this continent and now extant is Zumarraga's "Doctrina Breve," etc., published at Mexico and dated 1543-4. Harrisse (additions to *Bib. Vet. Amer.*, pp. 131-2) assigns the Toledo copy to the year 1540, but this is explained as an error in the Ramirez Catalogue, p. 132. Additional information concerning the

editions of this work may be found in the Quarrich Catalogue, 1877, p. 1248. We have examined a beautiful copy of this work in the Lenox Library, standing "cheek by jowl" with the "Bay Psalm Book," which, by the way, did *not* come from the Prince Library. Mr. Robert Lenox Kennedy has a perfect copy of the "Doctrina," which indicates variations in different copies of that publication.

It may be said, however, that both the *Century* and *Harper* enter the historical field handicapped by the necessity of being nothing unless popular. Lovers of critical history will follow their meanderings, but with a feeling of curiosity, contented by occasionally tasting the popular waters they offer, instead of seeking to drink rival seas dry.

**METHODS AND RESULTS. AN ATTEMPT TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF THE FIRST LANDING-PLACE OF COLUMBUS IN THE NEW WORLD.** 4to, pp. 68. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1882.

This monograph, by the Hon. G. V. Fox, forms Appendix No. 18, of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, under the Superintendence of Carlile P. Patterson. Mr. Fox has set himself seriously at work on one of those Columbian problems which baffle inquiry, such as the time and place of the nativity of Columbus, the place that holds his remains and the question of the authenticity of the Columbian portraits. The author has pursued his task in the most painstaking way, and anything like a full notice of the work would require us to reprint it. After a general introduction relating to Columbus and affairs of the period, a narrative of his voyage and a discussion thereon are given; being followed by extracts from the Journal of Columbus as preserved by Las Casas, the Spanish and English being given in parallel columns. The author then criticises the views of Navarrete, Varnhagen, Irving, and Beecher, in respect to the course sailed by Columbus, all of whom he discredits as holding theories inconsistent with the statements of Columbus and Las Casas, and he thinks that as the four hundredth anniversary of the first voyage of Columbus draws nigh, it is not creditable for us to be "floundering," touching the first landing-place. For himself, Mr. Fox adopts a new landfall and a track through the Bahamas, differing from all others hitherto ascribed to Columbus, whose "Guanahani," or landing-place, was the present Samana. The argument is very plausible. To the discussion are added appendices on the age, the mile and league of Columbus, the variation of the compass in 1492, and the log and the vessels of Columbus, with illustrative charts. Mr. Fox is generally very careful in his statements, but we note occasional

slips like one referring to the visit of Columbus to Iceland, where he says that "whatever he learned there had no influence upon his previous resolution," to make the transatlantic voyage. Perhaps some one can tell us what Columbus learned in Iceland? When that is done, we can judge better of the *influence* of what he learned. We are greatly indebted to the author for his extremely valuable researches, in the prosecution of which he has spared no pains.

**THE NEWER CRITICISM AND THE ANALOGY OF THE FAITH. A REPLY TO LECTURES BY R. ROBERTSON SMITH, M.A., ON THE OLD TESTAMENT OF THE JEWISH CHURCH.** By ROBERT WATTS, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the General Assembly's College, Belfast. Third Edition. 12mo, pp. 326. Edinburgh: T. & T. CLARK. 1882.

In 1881 the Rev. W. Robertson Smith, M.A., delivered some lectures on "Biblical Criticism" in Edinburgh and Glasgow, before large audiences, in which lectures he sought to prove certain books of the Old Testament less ancient than supposed, and thus revive the current opinion respecting the contents of those books. He based his argument upon the following statement, which is one that should engage the attention of historical students: "The first principle of criticism is that every book bears the stamp of the time and circumstances in which it was produced. An ancient book is, so to speak, a fragment of ancient life; and to understand it aright we must treat it as a living thing, as a bit of the life of the author and his time, which we shall not fully understand without putting ourselves back into the age in which it was written." On this ground Dr. Watts meets his opponent, showing that it is impossible to put ourselves back into the age in question, as the ancient books have no literary environment, but stand apart in their solitariness, forming the only monument of that antiquity out of which they grew. Following this line of argument, Dr. Watts seeks to prove that the newer criticism is assumptive, and in this view of the case he has the support of a very large class of investigators.

**THE STORY OF THE VOLUNTEER FIRE DEPARTMENT OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.** By GEORGE W. SHELDON. With One Hundred and Forty-five Illustrations. 8vo, pp. 575. New York: HARPER & BROTHERS, Franklin Square. 1882.

The author finds the origin of the Fire Department in 1648, when Peter Stuyvesant appointed

four fire wardens to inspect the wooden chimneys of the rising village. The earliest ordinance dates from 1656. In 1683 the bucket system was more fully practised, while fire-engines were not provided until 1731. Of the primitive "machine," mounted on low wooden wheels, and operating without hose by a pipe immediately connected with the fountain, our author gives a couple of specimens taken from old prints. The American fire-engine of 1785 formed scarcely any advance. With the hand-engine in its perfection all of our older readers are familiar, though the steam machine has reduced what was once the fireman's pride to the department of antiquities. Mr. Sheldon treats of the Volunteer Department as it was in its best days—of the different styles of engines, of the water supplies, of discipline, of the system of "bunking" at the engine-houses, of the parades, balls, benevolent funds, and also of the firemen as soldiers—giving a full account of representative firemen, among whom we find the names of many distinguished, as well as extinguished, citizens. One of the most famous firemen New York ever produced, however, is decently left out; though under the head of "Some Notable Fires," which begin with those of the so-called "Negro Plot" of 1741, one, with less satisfaction, fails to find any mention of the earliest fire—the burning of the ship of Adrian Block, in 1614. This work, however, forms a valuable contribution to the history of New York, covering ground that of necessity must be treated in a hasty manner by the general historian. The illustrations, taken as a whole, are of unique interest; and the book, while possessing all the elements of popularity, is one that should be found in those public and private libraries that aim at anything like completeness.

**MEXICAN PAPER: AN ARTICLE OF TRIBUTE, ITS MANUFACTURE, VARIETIES AND USES, AS COMPILED FROM PICTORIAL AND WRITTEN RECORDS.** By PH. J. J. VALENTINI. 8vo.

This interesting and valuable monograph goes over a subject, concerning which little can be found elsewhere in a connected form. The learned author begins by telling us where the paper manufactories were situated which furnished 24,000 reams of paper annually to the City of Mexico, and then passes to discuss the process of manufacture among the Mayas and Mexicans, whose paper is found to contain vegetable fibres. It was used for printing purposes and employed in the dress of warrior, priest, and sacrificial victim. Citations from numerous chronicles prove that this general use was made of the paper, specimens of which were analyzed for the author by Prof. Muller, of Vienna.

**TWO MEXICAN CHOLCHIHUITES. THE HUMBOLDT CELT AND THE LEYDEN PLATE.** By PH. J. J. VALENTINI. 8vo.

The author tells us that nephrite and its varieties, jadeite and chloromelanite, are not found in Europe or America, but belong to Asia and New Zealand; and that Prof. Fisher, of the University of Fribourg, has made the study of the mineral a specialty. Mr. Valentini, in this essay, reports the results of Prof. Fisher's studies. The latter says that celts of jade are found distributed along a line beginning at Rhotan, which crosses the Taxartes and Oxus Rivers, and passes below the Aral and Caspian Seas, along Northern Asia Minor, by the shores bordering upon Troy. Thence the line of distribution passes to the Peloponnesus, diverging to Germany, England, Scandinavia. Finally they appear in Mexico, whither, Prof. Fisher argues, they were brought by immigrants. He claims that unworked nephrite is not found on this continent, while chemical analysis shows an identity of composition with the Asiatic celt. Some Mexican specimens appear to have been split, which is explained by the supposition that at a certain period their importation ceased, and that celts being needed in connection with religious observances, the people sought thus to supply their wants, and finally came to use any kind of a green stone for the purpose, giving to it the name of Cholchihuite. The inscription upon the Humboldt celt, now in the British Museum, is supposed to have reference to the deceased in whose tomb it was found. These researches are curious and valuable, and seem to point to very distinct conclusions. These two monographs worthily supplement the author's essays on "Mexican Copper Tools" and "The Mexican Calendar Stone," by which much knowledge is added to our stock of American Antiquities. The author is entitled to the thanks and regard of all investigators.

**POEMS OF AMERICAN PATRIOTISM.**

Chosen by J. BRANDER MATHEWS. 12mo, pp. 271. New York: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS. 1882.

We all understand pretty well what is meant by poems of "American patriotism." In brief, it often means a fervid and jolly laudation of Jonathan at the expense of John Bull. In the present case, however, the phrase is extended so as to take in the Mexican War, Old John Brown, and the War for the Union. More than one-half of the book is devoted to the latter topic, the authors, of course, writing substantially on the side of the North—though, in one place, the women of Columbus are eulogized for the impartial honor shown to the dead soldier, whether

he wore the Blue or the Gray. This collection will be prized as well for its poetic merit as for its historic interest. Nevertheless, pages might be filled with well-taken exceptions to historical representation found in this collection. For instance, in the preliminary note to the verses on "Ticonderoga," we are told that "From its chime of bells, the French called Ticonderoga 'Carillon.'" This term was applied, not to Ticonderoga, but to the falls near the outlet of Lake George, whose musical cadence suggested the word applied to a chime of bells. It is very convenient to have such a collection at command, and the work of the editor, upon the whole, is very well done; yet it is somewhat too early to expect writers of verse to care more for truth than for the tickling of the ear.

**CAMPAIGNS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC. A CRITICAL HISTORY OF OPERATIONS IN VIRGINIA, MARYLAND, AND PENNSYLVANIA, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT TO THE CLOSE OF THE WAR, 1861-1865.** By WILLIAM SWINTON, author of "Decisive Battles of the War," etc. Revision and Reissue. 8vo, pp. 660. New York: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS. 1882.

This new edition of Swinton's work hardly needs commendation, since, though not without his prejudices, the author has won the favorable opinion of some of the best military critics, who accept his estimates as, upon the whole, very able and fair. The book has been out of print for about ten years, and in the meantime Mr. Swinton has made decided improvements, while the call for its reissue indicates that its merits are of a permanent character. The volume contains five steel portraits and twenty-two maps. It is also furnished with a fair Index.

**THE OFFICIAL LETTERS OF ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE COLONY OF VIRGINIA, 1710-22.** Now first printed from the manuscript in the collections of the Virginia Historical Society. With an Introduction and Notes by R. A. BROCK, Corresponding Secretary and Librarian of the Society. Vol. I. [Seal of the Society.] Richmond, Va.: Published by the Society. MDCCCLXXXII. 8vo, pp. xxi, 179.

This specimen of book-making, tasteful in material and excellent in its typography, is the occasion to us of sincere gratification, as it must be to every one like favored by possession. It is the first of a "New Series" of publications of original material, as definitely announced, the essential

value of which in contribution to American history is evident. The administration of Gov. Spotswood was a marked period in the development of the resources and manufactures of the colony and of its progress, and the truthful earnestness of the warrior Governor is as thoroughly evidenced by his vigorous pen, which sheds light upon many passages in the history of Virginia. An interesting preface and occasional notes are supplied by Mr. Brock. The text of the volume comprises the period from June 20, 1710, to July 26, 1712. A second volume completes the work. This volume contains the portrait of Spotswood, and his Arms. The Committee of Publication consists of Archer Anderson, J. L. M. Curry, and Edward V. Valentine.

**A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SLOCUMS, SLOCUMBS, AND SLOCOMBS OF AMERICA, GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL.** Embracing eleven generations of the first-named family, from 1637 to 1881. With their alliances, and the descendants in the female line so far as ascertained. Also the etymology of those surnames, an account of some researches in England concerning their ancestors who bore the parent surname, Slocombe, etc. By CHARLES ELIHU SLOCUM, M.D., PH.D., Syracuse, New York. 8vo, pp. 643. Published by the Author. 1882.

Giles Slocombe came from England, and settled in Rhode Island, at Portsmouth township, about the year 1638, dying there in 1682. The antecedents of the family have not yet been fully investigated. Giles and others were members of the Society of Friends, but representatives of the family have distinguished themselves in all the principal wars waged in the North American Continent, the name of Major-General Slocum, Commander of the Twelfth Army Corps, being conspicuous. From the beginning, the record is one of which the family may feel justly proud. This volume represents a large amount of enthusiastic and painstaking labor, containing the Slocum arms in colors, fourteen portraits—a number of them on steel—a general and particular index, the latter extending to forty pages of fine print. The volume is modestly styled a "short" history, but, in reality, it is a long and valuable one, to the preparation of which the author has brought large qualifications.

**DRAKE THE SEA-KING OF DEVON.**

By GEORGE M. TOWLE. 16mo, pp. 274. Boston: LEE & SHEPARD. 1883.

This is one of the series entitled the "Young Folks' Heroes of History," and it gives the great navigator and pirate the name which he bore in

his time; for, whatever else Drake may have been, he was in reality an exfoliation of the old Vik King or Viking, who haunted the vik, creek, or fiord. Drake pursued his piracies on the high seas, and if in this book he does not appear very prominent as a freebooter, he is certainly shown off to advantage by this popular author as a faithful henchman of the queen, and a circumnavigator of the globe. Those who have the oversight of youth should teach them how to read between the lines where books of this kind are concerned.

#### THE DESCENDANTS OF GEORGE

LITTLE, WHO CAME TO NEWBURY, MASSACHUSETTS, IN 1640. By GEORGE THOMAS LITTLE, A.M., member of the Maine Historical Society. 8vo, pp. 620. Auburn, Maine: Published by the Author. 1882.

This very handsome volume was written in the spirit of George Eliot, who says that "our dead are never dead to us until we have forgotten them." The author took an interest in the family history at an early age, and he found that its first representative was George Little, who arrived at Newbury, Massachusetts, about 1640. Mr. Little says that he is proud of his ancestors, and we may well believe it, after looking through his very extensive work, marked by so much care and research. He treats of no less than five thousand six hundred and twenty-seven representative branches or twigs of the family tree, who are taken first in chronological order, and afterward arranged in a double index of nearly one hundred pages, thus laying all who bear the honored name under a lasting obligation. The family arms, elegantly done in colors, serve as a frontispiece, and twenty-five portraits and views, some of the former on steel, adorn the work, of which the edition is limited to five hundred copies, costing \$1,600. This is really a very valuable addition to genealogical literature, being the result of years of patient and painstaking investigation, and the author well deserves a substantial reward.

#### KING'S HAND-BOOK OF BOSTON HAR-

BOR. With over Two Hundred Original Illustrations. By M. F. SWEETSER. 8vo, pp. 267. Cambridge, Mass.: MOSES KING, Harvard Square. 1882.

The author of this book is already well known, and especially so in connection with books of travel in New England, several of which are written on the Baedeker plan. The present work, however, is totally unlike his White Mountain Guide. It is, in fact, the best book of the kind that we have ever seen, being, at the same time,

historical and picturesque, and abounding with instruction and amusement for the household as well as for a frolic on the water. Boston Harbor is beyond question the most enjoyable harbor in the world; and Mr. Sweetser's book is worthy of it, showing, as it does, not only a keen appreciation of the necessities of the holiday Rambler, but of the requirements of the inquiring antiquary, who will find, within a comparatively small space, a large amount of valuable information culled from many sources. In this book, advertising is reduced to a fine art, so that the mercantile efforts of the publisher form a substantial addition, and we should not want to part with a single specimen of the advertising. Some of the illustrations are admirable in their execution, and all are to the point.

#### CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.

Prepared by DANIEL DURRIE and ISABEL DURRIE. Vol. I., 1873, pp. 639; vol. II., 1873, pp. 719; vol. III., 1875, pp. 382; vol. IV., 1875-78, pp. 750; vol. V., 1878-81, pp. 585. Madison: Published by order of the State.

The system adopted in this Catalogue is the alphabetical form. A given work is first catalogued under the author's name, with the title-page abbreviated, being then placed under its proper heading or subject, referring to the author's name for full title. Books are often cross-referenced under various heads. To enhance the usefulness of the Catalogue, important monographs are catalogued from the proceedings of societies and from magazines. By this process the Catalogue is adapted more especially for popular use. This collection, as represented by the Catalogue, comprises over ninety-four thousand volumes. The Tank Collection alone contains about five thousand volumes, chiefly in the Holland tongue. The library is increasing with great rapidity, and growing at its present rate, it must ere long outstrip many of our old collections on the Atlantic seaboard.

#### ERAS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF HISTORY. By WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS. 12mo, pp. 275. New York: HARPER & BROTHERS. 1882.

We have here twelve essays, ranging from "Nero and Paul" to "Buddhism," and from "Mahometanism and the Crusades" to "The Puritan and Mystic." The volume gives a series of strong historical pictures, thrown upon the screen, as it were, through the lens of an Evangelico-Calvinistic stereopticon. Dr. Williams' conceptions are clear and vivid, his spirit is



kindly, appreciative, and charitable, while in many parts of his book faithful research lends an added charm in the sober eloquence which is made the vehicle of learning. Yet the research is defective, and not equal to his reputation, while at times the style is awkward and involved, showing the need of that careful revision required before sending to the press a series of compositions originally intended for platform recital. The volume is nevertheless valuable, and forms a fair offset to a class of effusions which treat such subjects from a different view-point.

THE NATURE AND FORM OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT FOUNDED IN THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION. By the HONORABLE GEORGE SHEA, Chief-Justice of the Marine Court of the City of New York. 16mo, pp. 82. Boston: HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & CO. 1882.

The aim of this little book is to set forth the Christian character of our plan of governance, which is exhibited, not as a creation, but as a growth, and which is shown to have derived its health, strength, and durability more from the atmosphere by which it has been surrounded than any isolated root from which it is said to have sprung. Hence, our government is represented as the express image of the ancient Commonwealth of England, even as that Commonwealth was the product of Scandinavian civilization, tempered by Christianity. The points are well taken, and the general reader will find this a very convenient manual.

HISTORY OF GREAT BARRINGTON (BERKSHIRE COUNTY), MASS. By CHARLES J. TAYLOR. 12mo, pp. 519. Great Barrington, Mass.: CLARK W. BOYAN & CO. 1882.

The substance of this volume was published originally in the *Berkshire Courier*, and by a vote of the town, pledging financial help, the author was encouraged to throw his material into the form of a convenient volume, tracing the history of the town—which was a part of the ancient Dutch "Westenhook"—from the earliest period down to the present year. The author has labored with much diligence, and has made a substantial addition to the rapidly growing literature of town histories. This volume possesses interest not only for collectors and residents of Great Barrington, but for the large class of persons who annually take their way during the summer to the neighborhood in which Great Barrington is situated. The value of this excellent work is enhanced by a map of the old Housatonic townships, and by an index.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION. Vol. I.—History of English Settlements in Edwards County, Illinois, founded in 1817 and 1818 by Morris Birkbeck and George Flower. By GEORGE FLOWER. With Preface and Foot-notes by E. B. WASHBURN. 8vo, pp. 402. Chicago: FERGUS PRINTING COMPANY. 1882.

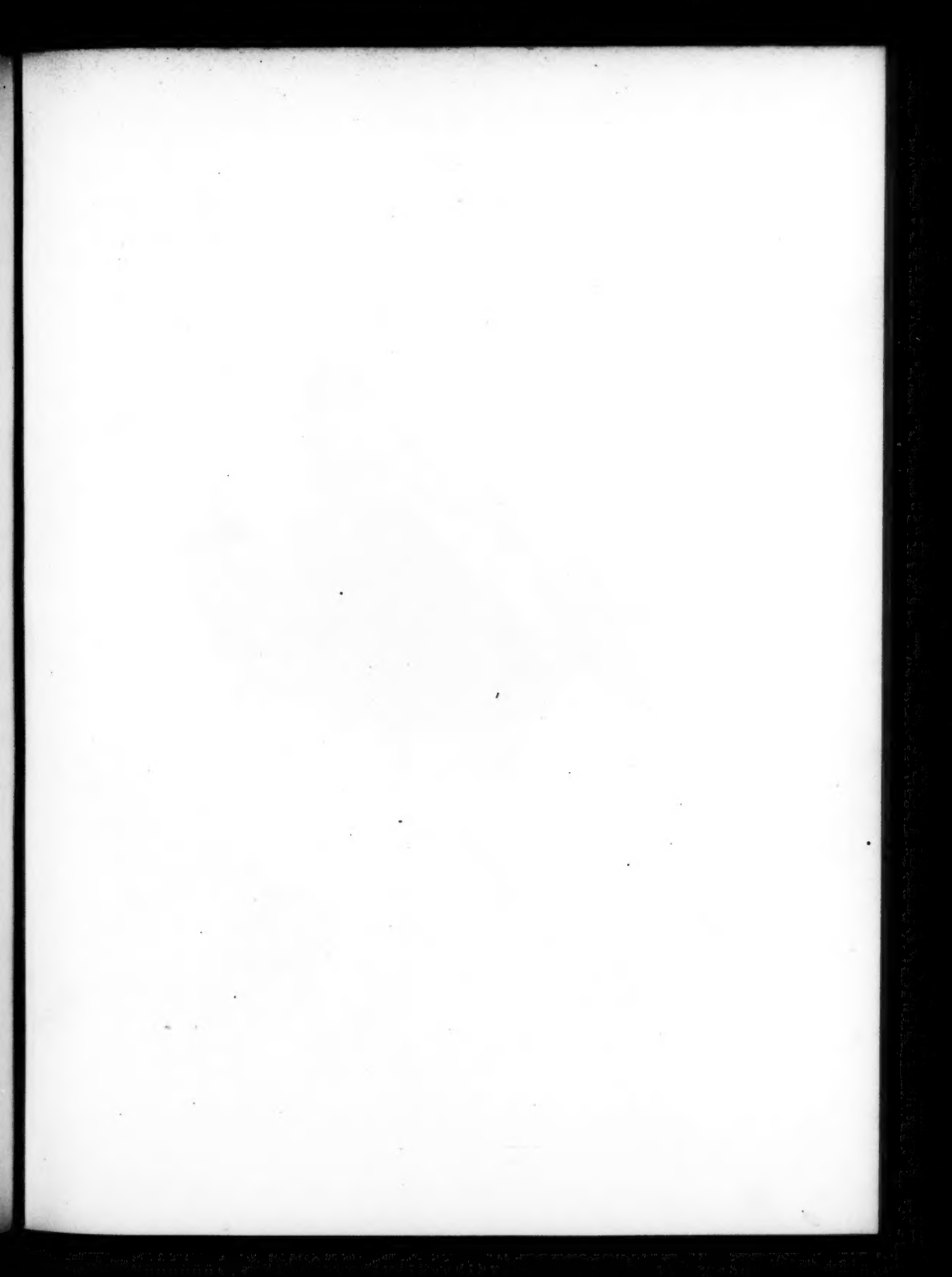
The manuscript of this work was presented to the Chicago Historical Society in 1860, together with valuable autograph letters, both of which were eventually loaned; in the end proving that it is not always true that "to lend is to lose," for while the collections of the Society perished in the great fire, the contents of the present handsome volume were preserved, and have now been printed through the generosity of Levi Z. Leiter, Esq., of Chicago. We trust that this is the beginning of a good work which will be carried on until the early history of the Northwest is amply illustrated.

#### PAMPHLETS

REMINISCENCES OF THE EARLY SETTLEMENT AND EARLY SETTLERS OF MCNAIRY COUNTY, TENNESSEE. By Gen. MARCUS J. WRIGHT. 8vo, pp. 96. Washington, D. C.: COMMERCIAL PUB. CO. 1882.

ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-FIFTH ANNUAL RECORD OF THE ANCIENT AND HONORABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY. Sermon by Rev. JAMES W. THOMPSON, of Salem, Mass. Pp. 28. Boston. 1882.

PRANG'S CHROMOS.—Though in 1659 the high and mighty General Court of Massachusetts declared that "whosoever shall be found observing any such day as Christmas or the like" must suffer a penalty of "five shillings as a fine to the County," and though, later, Chief Justice Sewall solemnly wagged his head as he viewed the infractions of the good old law, both General Court and learned Judge would have condoned the offence if they had had any Prang at Boston, as now, to persuade them with his Christmas cards, which this season are more beautiful than ever; being not only very superior as works of art, but more thoroughly penetrated by the Christmas idea. However the law may have been left by the ancient worthies, it has been repealed by Prang, whose exquisite gems of chromo-lithography are now going out from Boston to carry joy into hundreds of thousands of hearts, not only in our own but in foreign lands.





*George Washington*

FROM A PORTRAIT BY CHARLES PRESENTED BY WASHINGTON TO COL. DICKINSON

Eng'd by R. B. Hill & Son. From the Magazine of American History

## MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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No. 2

### HOW RHODE ISLAND WAS NAMED.

I PROPOSE, in this article, to discuss the question of the origin of the name of Rhode Island.

The writer whose views on this point I shall examine, in substance taught as follows: That the General Court (March, 1644) say, "It is ordered by this Court that the Ysland commonly called Aquethneck shall be from henceforth called Isle of Rhodes, or Rhode Island," from which it is inferred that we know exactly how Rhode Island obtained its name; and, in fact, that we here have "the whole story," and need not look farther. Also he believed that the suggestion of the old Dutch name *Roode* or *Red Island* was quite fanciful, and that it ought to be rejected, and adds: "Had our shores presented any reddish appearance there might have been reason for such an origin of the name; but they do not."

Finally, he held that Verrazano called the island discovered by him, near Narragansett Bay, *Claudia Island*, and that it had nothing to do with Verrazano's allusion to the Island of Rhodes. Now,

1. *Is there a difference of opinion about the place from which the State of Rhode Island received its name?*

The Colony or State of Rhode Island received by degrees its name from the island of Rhode Island. This, I believe, nobody denies. I have in previous notes clearly indicated that the words *Rhode Island* were introduced into the long name of the little Republic—the *State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*—and got at last the upper hand in it from the island, which, as said, had this name for some time before the State or Colony received it. The question is not whence the State received its name—because this is not doubtful—but how the name of the island originated, and how and for what purpose this name was transplanted from the Mediterranean to the shores of Narragansett Bay. From the proceedings of the Court of Election, which speak only of the change of the old